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THE Nation

March 4, 1944

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Politics, Grand and Petty - - - - - *Editorial*

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The Civil Air War

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

*

William Allen White

BY LEWIS GANNETT

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Can We Make Use of Hirohito?

BY EDWARD HUNTER

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The Shape of Things

WHETHER GENERAL PEDRO RAMIREZ FELL without fighting or after a heroic struggle with his colonels may be an interesting item in the military history of Argentina but it does not affect in the least the gravity of the South American situation. The only important fact is that the G. O. U.—responsible for the *coup d'état* of July—retains power. Indeed very little has changed in Argentina since the day the pro-Nazi clique in the army, considering President Castillo a too-hesitant fascist, threw him out of the Casa Rosada. Even the rupture of diplomatic relations with the Axis, about which a section of our press and some officials in Washington so noisily rejoiced, was pure farce. Nothing has changed fundamentally in Buenos Aires; but the intentions of the instigators of the July revolt have taken more definite shape. Events in Chile, in Peru, in Uruguay prove that we are witnessing the development of an articulated plot to seize power in the Western Hemisphere and that Hitler, while losing battles in Europe, is gaining ground in Latin America.

*

IN SANTIAGO DE CHILE ONE OF OUR democratic friends, the former Consul General in New York, Anibal Jara, now at the head of the government press service, has just exposed the continued activities of Nazi agents in Chile, and a hundred of them have been arrested. From Peru comes word that again last week government circles feared developments in Buenos Aires might produce violent repercussions in Lima. Even in Montevideo new activities of Axis agents have recently come to light. In the face of a threat of such dimensions the reactions of Allied diplomacy remain slow and weak. It should not be necessary to wait until the last shred of evidence is produced to show whether General Ramirez left the presidency in good health, slightly indisposed, or collapsing with "fatigue." It is clear that the G. O. U. by its pretense of legality in substituting Vice-President Farrell is merely trying to avoid the difficulties which, in the case of Bolivia, led to the withdrawal of recognition by the United States and Great Britain. The only policy for the Allies to adopt is to break all diplomatic and economic relations with Argentina and to do it promptly.

THAT THE FRANCO REGIME IS BEHIND THIS whole troubled situation in Latin America is not doubted any longer even in official circles. The subversive character of the Falange was emphasized last week by no less an authority than the Attorney General of the United States. In a document remarkable for its precision and outspoken language, Mr. Biddle pointed out that General Franco headed the Falange and dictated its policy. The "national cause" of the Falange, he continued, looks to the establishment and preservation of a totalitarian state, the unity of Spaniards throughout the world, and the restoration of the ancient Spanish empire. "The Falange claims to have organized, in all the Latin American countries and in the Philippines and Puerto Rico, groups that subscribe to these doctrines." Following the Attorney General's denunciation of the Falange, Representative Coffee of Washington brought to the attention of Congress a series of specific cases showing the support given to the Nazis in Latin America by Franco agents. If obliged to choose between the concrete accusations of the Attorney General and Representative Coffee and the pious attempts to fabricate a new pro-Allied Franco undertaken by Archbishop Spellman and journalists like Henry Taylor, we choose Mr. Biddle and the Congressman from Washington. We consider both men more conscious of their responsibility to their own country and less susceptible to the influences of the Vatican and to the charms of Madrid society—where Mr. Taylor discovered that Spain under Franco is the happiest nation in the world. As long as the Spanish dictator is allowed to move his agents into the Western Hemisphere under the protection of diplomatic immunity we shall suffer one defeat after another in Latin America.

*

THE RUSSIAN WINTER OFFENSIVE SHIFTED into high gear as the Red Army celebrated its twenty-sixth anniversary. Within a few days two of the greatest Nazis bases, Krivoi Rog and Vitebsk, which had held out for months against strong pressure, were seized. At the same time the Soviets opened an attack on the long-quiet center of the White Russian line, overrunning the important town of Rogachev. In the north, where the Red Army has been on the offensive for more than a month, it has been advancing an average of ten miles a day toward the key railway center of Pskov. This sudden speeding up of the Soviet offensive seems to be partly the result of a cold wave which has frozen the rivers and lakes hard enough to bear the weight of mechanized equipment. But the German defeat on the Leningrad front and the isolation of a sizable German force in the Dnieper bend may have so weakened the Nazi position that a general withdrawal could no longer be avoided. Having lost the iron of Krivoi Rog, the manganese of Nikopol, and the strategic positions in the Leningrad area, the German high command has little reason to defend positions east of the old Russian border.

*

WE HOPE ATTORNEY GENERAL BIDDLE'S thoughtful and courageous address on the cartel system before Harvard Law School alumni in New York will get the attention it deserves at home and abroad. Mr. Biddle's program for the breaking up of such great German cartels as I. G. Farben and for rooting out its influence in occupied Europe must be an important part of any postwar plan that offers hope of eradicating the conditions in which fascism has been nurtured. His demand for full publicity on all foreign commercial agreements should help secure the passage through Congress of the O'Mahoney bill for that purpose. Especial interest attaches to his insistence that the fruits of Axis research during the past decade be thrown open to all of industry. This implies an end to the policy whereby the Alien Property Custodian has left untouched those alien patents under which a number of American firms enjoy exclusive licenses. We recommend to our British friends those portions of Mr. Biddle's address dealing with their probems. Thanks to Congressional investigations we know a great deal more about the harmful part cartels played in hampering England's defense than the British themselves do. If these revelations were better known in England the British might be less complacent than they tend to be about the cartel system.

*

THE NATION APPLAUDS HERBERT GASTON, Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, and his colleagues of the Interdepartmental Committee on Employee Investigations for the spirit and the findings of their first annual report to Attorney General Francis Biddle. "Administrative action," the committee says, "shall not disregard those traditional American principles whose fundamentals include free speech and liberty of conscience." This, rather than the Dies attitude, is the framework in which the committee has chosen to operate. It was set up in February of 1943 by the President to advise and assist federal agencies in determining the guilt or innocence of employees accused of advocating or belonging to organizations which advocate overthrow of the government by force or violence. Of 301 cases submitted to the committee, only 5 were found to warrant dismissal. The committee finds "no real basis for supposing that government service harbors any significant number of persons who are members of organizations which advocate the overthrow of the government of the United States by force or violence, or who personally so advocate." It is too much to hope that this will end what Henry F. Pringle in the *Saturday Evening Post* recently termed "snooping on the Potomac." But the

report may at least provide progressives in Congress with ammunition against Dies.

*

BY A SIX-VOTE MARGIN THE HOUSE HAS rejected the notorious Johnson bill, which would have deprived Japanese Americans of their citizenship if they could be shown to have made any statements regarded as disloyal to the United States. The bill had the strong backing of a number of West Coast super-patriotic organizations which seek to denaturalize and deport some 7,000 interned persons of Japanese descent who have given equivocal answers to the so-called loyalty questionnaire. In theory, a negative or equivocal answer to the question regarding their loyalty to the United States is presumed to indicate subversive or disloyal tendencies. In reality, according to observers who have studied the conditions under which the questionnaire was presented, the answers probably have no such significance. It can be assumed that saboteurs, real or potential, were careful not to announce their intentions by a negative answer. Those who did reply in the negative appear to have done so for a variety of reasons which have little to do with the issue. Great confusion prevailed in the camps at the time the questionnaire was presented. The directors were given no instructions on how to meet the barrage of queries as to the meaning of the test. Many of the internees regarded the inquisition as insulting in view of their long record of loyalty and gave negative answers as a protest against the indignity. Others believed that an affirmative answer would force them to leave the protection of the camps.

Politics, Grand and Petty

IN THE dramatic exchange between President Roosevelt and Senator Barkley it is possible to see one of those historic contests between the ruler and the people —but first you must strain your imagination until it cracks and blind both eyes to the realities of American politics in the year 1944. If you reject this prescription you will probably not fall into the illusion of the New York *Daily News* that Roosevelt is Charles I and Barkley is Cromwell; you will be surprised to learn from Representative Reed of New York that the episode is part of the "age-old contest between Anglo-Saxon liberty and attempted despotic rule"; and you will not confuse the gentlemen of the Seventy-eighth Congress with the noble barons of Runnymede.

Under the Constitution there has always been a tug-of-war between the executive and legislative branches of the government. The creators of that document were wise enough to know that the lines of jurisdiction could not be drawn rigidly, that there would have to be a measure of give-and-take, depending on circumstances that could not be foretold generations in advance. They assumed that the safety of the Republic at any given time would be the measure by which a wise Executive and a responsible Congress would regulate the ebb and flow of their respective powers. In time of war the tide of authority necessarily and inevitably flows toward the executive branch, and there has never been a war in which Congress has not subordinated itself to the President. War Congresses have always grumbled, "investigated," and stood on their dignity, all of which they had a right and obligation to do. But, fortunately for the country, they have gone along on major matters.

The Seventy-eighth Congress has not contented itself with these traditional vents for letting off steam. Having displayed more than its quota of bitterness over the exercise of war-time powers by the Executive, it is now prepared to raise the question of constitutional jurisdiction in the midst of the most desperate war in the nation's history. Its choice of the tax bill as an immediate issue and the political circumstances of the Presidential campaign arouse grave doubts of its sincerity.

Do the rebellious followers of Senator Barkley really question the President's constitutional right to veto a tax bill? Do they think he had any recourse but to veto a measure which he regarded as inadequate to meet the financing of the war, inequitable in its distribution of the tax burden, and gravely short of what is needed to head off a calamitous inflation? They complain bitterly of "a small group of irresponsible theorists in the Treasury Department who advise the President on taxation and who seem to have lost patience with constitutional government" because they want Congress to follow their recommendations. But haven't these complaining Congressmen ever heard of the constitutional provision that the President, presumably advised by his Cabinet, "shall from time to time . . . recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient"?

Descending from the realm of high theory to the level of election-year politics, where we believe the true issue lies, we find that the Barkley coup confronts the President with the greatest challenge since he took over from Mr. Hoover the reins of a depression-ridden country. Congressmen do not gang up on the Presidential leader of their party when they think he has the backing of the country. Particularly do they avoid such behavior in an election year. Clearly, then, the Democrats who vociferously followed the Barkley lead count on one of two eventualities: that Roosevelt can still be headed off at the party convention, or that even if he is nominated and elected, he will represent a reluctant, war-dictated choice, and the voters will express their real sentiments by supporting hostile Congressional candidates.

In this situation the President has no choice, moral or political, but to face the issues, to present his case and his program to the people. If he surrenders, or glosses

over the differences that separate him from the majority of his party in Congress, his victory, if any, will be worse than meaningless. For, like Wilson, he will be forced to work with a Congress bent on frustrating his every aim and armed with a fresh mandate from the people. In that sad eventuality he will be even less able to achieve an enlightened peace than a Republican executive supported by a Republican Congress. If, on the other hand, he explains to the voters the absolute necessity of Congressional support in such matters as war financing, he can, we believe, still achieve the one kind of victory that will have meaning. The stakes are too high for cleverness; they call for stature.

Fiscal Fiddling

POLITICS aside, the Barkley affair served the tories well as a smoke screen to obscure the basic economic issues that the President was striving to illuminate by his veto of the tax bill. It is doubtful whether Mr. Roosevelt cared very deeply whether the tax bill was enacted into law or not. The defects in the bill, though irritating, were scarcely important enough in themselves to justify the veto. Although the suspension of the automatic increase in the social-security tax was wholly illogical at a time when revenue is desperately needed, the President must have had some qualms about favoring a tax that is wholly regressive while rejecting a bill that provided some additional revenue from corporations and high-income groups. But the two points which the President was trying to drive home through the veto were far more important than these details. The first was the utter inadequacy of the revenues provided by the bill in the face of the grave threat of inflation. The second was the failure of Congress to seek additional revenue in the pockets of those who have profited most by the war.

The crucial importance of taxes in the struggle against inflation cannot be overstressed. The President almost alone among our political leaders has understood from the beginning that the excess spending power created by the war must be absorbed by taxes if inflation is to be headed off. A year ago he pleaded with Congress to provide $16,000,000,000 in new revenue—a figure which competent economists even then regarded as an absolute minimum. Mr. Willkie's grasp of the essentials of war economics was not revealed until quite recently, too late to have any effect on the Republicans in Congress, who must share responsibility for the inadequacy of the bill just enacted. Mr. Roosevelt has probably reconciled himself by now to the probability of a financial breakdown on the home front, but he would not have been discharging his duty as President if he had not made one last effort to avert it.

No less important from the standpoint of sound wartime policy is the principle of equality of sacrifice. Both for the sake of morale and financial stability, the needed revenues must be raised from those who possess the existing surplus of spending power. The present tax measure violates this principle fundamentally. Special groups actually receive relief from existing taxes, and the special privileges granted to mining, lumbering, natural-gas, and commercial aviation industries invite invidious comparisons. The President was thus merely stating a fact when he said that the bill provided "relief not for the needy but for the greedy"—an expression that seems to have angered some members of Congress by its aptness.

The record is clear. The President has consistently and patiently urged a tax program that would uncover the hidden pools of excess spending power and prevent war profiteering. He asked for a war-time ceiling on incomes, after taxes, of $25,000 a year. Under his leadership the Treasury submitted a series of tax proposals that would have thrown the weight of taxation primarily on those who could pay higher taxes without sacrifice of essential living standards. But the Administration has been rebuffed on these proposals by a Congress bent on fiscal fiddling while inflationary fires burn. When the inevitable day of reckoning arrives, the voters may not be concerned about whether or not their Congressmen voted to override the President's veto of the tax bill, but they will ask why prices are out of control.

Mr. Churchill Reports

UNWILLING to recognize the revolutionary implications of the war or to encourage the revolutionary forces it has set in motion, Mr. Churchill has depended heavily on nationalism to provide the driving power of the crusade against Hitlerism. Nor can it be denied that this emotion has deeply stirred the peoples of the occupied countries and inspired them to heroic resistance. Nevertheless the principles of nationalism provide no solution of the problems that beset Europe and form the most insecure foundation on which to build peace. Even now, before victory is assured, we are finding the ranks of the United Nations confused by rivalries of a bitterness which bodes ill for the future. The nationalist spirit is taking forms which Mr. Churchill obviously views with alarm but knows not how to exorcise. No wonder that his latest report to the House of Commons indicates both a loss of political bearings and an unwonted lack of confidence.

We do not complain because the military picture he painted was rather more somber than that which has recently been presented by eminent American and British authorities. Victory in 1944 has long seemed to us not a certainty but a reasonable hope, particularly if the United Nations developed a political third front as well as a military second front. But Mr. Churchill made it plain that, whatever plans were made at Teheran for the other,

no basis was laid for a political strategy which would assist in the disintegration of the enemy. On the contrary, his statement that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to Germany, the indications that he gave of a developing "spheres-of-influence" policy, the snub he administered to Italian democracy—all these things pointed toward sole reliance on military methods to win the war and sole reliance on power politics to maintain the peace. These are not policies which can in any way be presented to the German people as an inducement to abandon Nazi leadership. Rather they play right into the hands of Goebbels in his constant effort to bolster German morale, and provide valuable grist for those American propagandists whose aim is to weaken American morale and break down the United Nations front.

In his discussions of the military situation Mr. Churchill laid special stress on the air war. The intensity of the raids on Germany, he said, had by no means reached its climax, and "spring and summer will see a vast increase in the force of the attack." Since the Prime Minister went on to speak of this offensive as the foundation of Allied invasion plans, this may mean that the final attack on the Continent will not begin as early as had been expected. In any case Mr. Churchill seemed anxious to forestall any criticism of delay by stressing the total British contribution to the war, the extent to which Anglo-American air power was diverting the Luftwaffe and decreasing German ability to make war, and the importance of the Italian campaign as an absorbent of German military man-power.

It is, of course, perfectly true that the achievements of America and Britain on the sea and in the air, together with economic assistance to the Soviets, have made a bigger contribution to the Red Army's victories than Moscow has been willing to acknowledge. But the fact remains that Germany is a land power, which will only be finally crushed on land, and it is on the eastern front that the most spectacular steps toward this end have been taken. Until equally positive action is seen in the west, Russia will appear in its own eyes and in those of most of the world to be winning the war by itself.

That is why the successful invasion of the Continent as early as possible is vital from the political as well as the military angle. Until the Anglo-American forces are firmly established in Europe, Anglo-American diplomacy cannot take the initiative. At Teheran Stalin seems to have told Churchill and Roosevelt how he proposed to secure Russia's western frontiers, and they could only acquiesce—even though his plans conflicted with the Atlantic Charter. Mr. Eden, it is true, has denied that spheres of influence were agreed upon, but Mr. Churchill's speech certainly points toward an understanding about regional responsibilities which would amount to the same thing under a less provocative name.

Thus, while expressing a wistful desire for the postponement of territorial questions until after the war, the British Prime Minister asserted that some agreement regarding the Russian-Polish borders was urgently necessary. Declaring that Russian demands did not go "beyond the limits of what is reasonable and just," he went on to say that he had agreed with Stalin about Poland's need of compensation at the expense of Germany "both in the north and in the west"—a phrase which suggests the inclusion in Poland of much purely German territory.

Anticipating objections, Mr. Churchill explained that the Atlantic Charter did not apply to Germany "as a matter of right." But it did state that its signatories sought "no aggrandizement, territorial or other," and that they desired "no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned." These declarations, it might well be argued, represent an unwise reversion to Wilsonian self-determination. Nevertheless, as they stand, they cannot easily be squared with the dismemberment of Germany.

Nor can the democratic guaranties of the charter be squared with our Italian policy. Nevertheless, Mr. Churchill defended the continuation of King Emanuel and Marshal Badoglio on the ground that they command the allegiance of the Italian armed forces. But he was not able to give any very convincing evidence of the value of those forces, and it is clear that so long as the old regime in Italy continues, the Italian people are going to be fairly apathetic. The Anglo-American authorities, however, seem to have decided that a subservient Italian government is better than an enthusiastic one. A democratic regime, Mr. Churchill explained, might try to strengthen its position with the people by resisting the demands of the Allied armies.

Strangely enough he moved straight from this cynical dismissal of popular government in Italy to a tremendous eulogy of Tito and his followers. We welcome this belated tribute, wondering at Mr. Churchill's inability to realize that the same kind of social energy that suffuses the Partisans might have been released in Italy also if our armies had come truly as liberators. The difficulty, as we pointed out earlier, is that Mr. Churchill understands this war only in nationalist terms and so must fight it with one arm tied, unable to make use of the explosive political and social forces in Europe which transcend all national boundaries.

A dinner on the occasion of the twenty-fifth anniversary of Freda Kirchwey's association with The Nation *was held at the Hotel Commodore in New York on February 27, 1944. Excerpts from addresses made by Raymond Swing, Thurman Arnold, Reinhold Niebuhr, Dorothy Thompson, Archibald MacLeish, and Miss Kirchwey will appear in early issues of* The Nation.

Reaction's Unhappy Prisoner

BY I. F. STONE

Washington, February 25

IT IS difficult for us who live so close to great events correctly to appraise them. Even those of us who happen to be Washington correspondents, and are reputed to be conscientious, know extraordinarily little of what is actually going on. The philosopher in Connecticut, with nothing to rely on but his daily paper and his knowledge of history, may have as clear a view of the operations of the men and forces which really determine the course of events as the reporter in Washington. The former's thinking is at least unaffected by the terrific clash of personalities in the capital, by the huge volume of supposedly authoritative but not very reliable information the reporter picks up, by the pull of partisan struggle and the undertow of wishful thinking. It is with this apology that I should like to contribute the little I can to an understanding of what has happened in the past seven days here. I am inclined to think it of momentous importance in American and world history.

The background of the week's events is comparatively simple, and may make the events themselves easier to understand. It is that the United States is emerging from the war enormously enriched and comparatively unscathed, and faces the post-war period the greatest capitalist power on earth. This country will henceforth, until adversity reawakens the people and revives the progressive movement, be the citadel of world reaction. As a result of compromises believed necessary to mobilize the nation, one strategic post after another has been relinquished to men representing monopoly capitalism. War-time prosperity has stilled the desire for social reform from which the New Deal drew its life, and war-time disarrangements and hardships—petty as these are in perspective—have provoked a vast amount of dissatisfaction with the "ins"—the feeling among large sections of the people is on just that low plane. The producers in all ranks—labor, agriculture, and business—seem chiefly worried that someone else may be making more out of the war than they are, while the representatives of the great aggregations of wealth, tremendously increased by the war, use these dissatisfactions further to make the President their prisoner and the future their secure domain. In the process the ugliest reactionary tendencies of middle-class America are awakening and being encouraged. These are clearly visible in Congress.

The House that cheered Rankin after a speech in which he called Walter Winchell a "kike" booed O'Connor of Montana into silence when the latter jumped to his feet, red-faced and shaken, to accuse his colleagues of not giving the President "the revenue to fight this war." The mob spirit of the House in overriding the President's tax veto was matched by the sentimental orgy with which the Senate celebrated Barkley's repudiation of his party chief. The whole affair has served to dramatize the fact that Mr. Roosevelt is in name only the head of the Democratic Party. On taxes, as on consumer subsidies and the soldiers' vote, the President no longer controls the party. The Democratic Party has always been a rickety vehicle for progressive Presidents, and what Mr. Roosevelt has been able to accomplish in the past has been done not so much because of the party as in spite of it. His strength has lain in appeals to the people, but the people are distracted, and the President himself seems undecided as to how far he can go in appealing to them over the heads of the party and of Congress. The apologetic telegram to Barkley on the eve of the Democratic caucus may have served to make Barkley's reelection seem less of a defeat for the President. But the price paid for that typical maneuver was to put the President back on the defensive, to rob him of the moral advantage of continued attack, and the people of the clear line of leadership only such attack could provide.

The weakness of the tax-veto message was that it did not sufficiently place the complex technical issues in their large framework. Its strength was the resurgence of the old Mr. Roosevelt, notably in its one great fighting phrase, its reference to the bill as providing "relief not for the needy but for the greedy." The tax-bill veto was a courageous document. It struck directly at some of the most powerful economic interests in America, among them mining, lumber, natural gas, and aviation, and it collided head-on with the general business antipathy to renegotiation of war profits. It could be, and may still be, amplified into a series of speeches to bring home to the people the great issues of the home front and of the post-war period. But at least temporarily the President has again decided on retreat, though it would seem that he has reached the point where there is little more to lose by a complete and open fight with Congress and a large section of his own party. This, of course, is an observation easily made from outside a situation which may appear considerably different to the man on whom final responsibility for the war rests. Further compromise will certainly be the advice of the President's major ad-

visers, most of whom are now men of much the same outlook as the men in Congress he is fighting.

The most powerful of these advisers is James F. Byrnes. Never a progressive, he was appointed "assistant President" in the hope that his old contacts in Congress would make it easier for the President to obtain legislation for carrying on the war. But the compromises such an alliance entailed have proved one-sided; they have increased the power of Byrnes without perceptibly helping the President "on the hill." The President has become so entangled in the consequences of these compromises, become so completely the prisoner of the reactionary influences Byrnes represents, that it seems no longer possible for him to provide any clear line of progressive leadership. The same President who sent a fighting tax-veto message to Congress on Monday had surrendered over the week-end on a far more important front. Quickly and quietly he signed the "blank-check" directive written for him by Byrnes putting into effect the major recommendations of the Baruch-Hancock "millionaire's Beveridge plan" for post-war America. The one important instrument we have for a better life after the war, our vast government-owned productive resources, were thereby handed over to Will Clayton, Jesse Jones's chief lieutenant, a man of the extreme right, a trader in cotton of imperial and worldwide power, a dealer with Axis countries before Pearl Harbor, and a monopolist to the core. At the same time Frank T. Hines, a reactionary hack politician, a leftover from the Republican '20's, an opponent of New Deal work-creation measures, was placed in charge of the job of providing work for returned soldiers. These appointments and the Baruch-Hancock report represent a crucial victory for monopoly capital, and make a farce of the repeated promises of "full employment" after the war. When these two major events of the week are placed side by side—the fight on taxes and the surrender of resources—is it any wonder people are bewildered?

The Civil Air War

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

ALTHOUGH all phases of post-war aviation are newsworthy, its international aspects have won most of the headlines in the past year. The prospects of air rivalry between the powers, the debate on the future of lend-lease bases, the quarrel between the nationalists and the internationalists, the struggle between the advocates of monopoly and the proponents of competition, the problem of translating the ideal of "freedom of the air" into practical terms—all these are matters with which even casual newspaper readers have become familiar.

It would have been fairly easy, however, to have overlooked another conflict which has developed in the last twelve months, a conflict over the post-war exploitation of America's own skies. News of this civil air war has seldom made the front pages, perhaps because it was less easy to summarize in large, dramatic terms, although the fact that the two chief antagonists—the air lines and the rails—are both prolific advertisers may also be relevant. In any case the comparative lack of publicity is no index of the warmth of the battle, for in many ways the intensity of competition is sharper in the domestic field than in the international.

The future of aviation has been depicted in such glowing terms that it is hardly surprising that a flock of imaginative entrepreneurs should be seeking to elbow their way into a preferred place in its development. Most of them, however, are content to seek opportunity at home. Realizing that overseas ventures would involve them in the mysteries of foreign politics, they are prepared to leave the international sphere to the big boys with the big money who know their way about. What the average would-be domestic operator is looking for is a flying truck route or a helicopter feeder line from his home town to the nearest metropolis.

One result of all this hopeful enterprise is that the offices of the Civil Aeronautics Board in Washington have been flooded with applications for "certificates of convenience and necessity," without which no flying common carrier in interstate commerce can leave the ground. Many of them have been filed by the existing air lines, which are seeking both overseas routes and extensions of their present domestic operations. Thus American Airlines, which already serves thirty-five cities in twenty-two states, has applied for new routes and extensions which would increase by 50 per cent the area it now covers. United Air Lines, another of the "Big Four," is asking approval of plans which would almost double the mileage of its present system. Ambitious schemes are also being promoted by many of the railroad companies. The Missouri Pacific, emerging from bankruptcy rich in cash, thanks to the war boom, has announced the formation of a subsidiary, Eagle Airlines, Inc., which has applied for a 6,000-mile network paralleling the parent

company's surface lines. Dwarfing even this plan is the proposal of the Greyhound Corporation to combine its nation-wide bus operations with seventy-eight helicopter feeder routes covering 49,000 miles of air travel.

The possibilities of the helicopter—a matter of heated debate among aeronautical experts—are stirring imaginations even outside the transport business. Several big department stores are hoping to bring customers through the air directly to their roof tops. William Filene's Sons, for instance, has petitioned for six routes connecting its Boston store with forty-five cities scattered through New England. Its helicopters, it is suggested, would not only provide a passenger service but could also be used for the rapid delivery of parcels.

These are just some samples of applications filed with the CAB by large, well-financed corporations. But there have been a host of proposals by small companies and individuals, some of which are far less modest than the resources behind them. The story is told of a woman with a baby in her arms who presented a petition for the right to operate two transcontinental cargo and express routes. She was mightily disappointed not to get her certificate over the counter. A Washington schoolboy was better informed and more patient. He put in his bid with the idea that approval might be forthcoming by the time he had finished a college engineering course.

These are extreme examples, but obviously a great many of the applications now being so hopefully deposited in Washington must be turned down cold. Before the CAB can grant a "certificate of necessity and convenience" it has to hold hearings and decide on the basis of the evidence offered whether the proposition has inherent merit, whether its promoters are technically capable and financially responsible, whether there is a sufficient public demand to warrant the new service. Naturally, in cases of regularly scheduled services, existing air lines which have won their spurs have a big advantage. And among the active lines the "Big Four" trunk systems—American, United, Eastern, and Transcontinental and Western—which account for 76 per cent of air-line operating revenues, inevitably have a pull over the little fellows.

A vast extension of air-carrier routes is in prospect after the war. Civil airways within the United States at present total around 35,000 miles, with stops at 284 places. To give complete air coverage, according to Edward P. Warner, vice-chairman of the CAB, it would be necessary to increase route mileage to 200,000 and provide for service stops at 3,400 places. Granted that any such development is far in the future, there remains tremendous scope for enlargement of the services currently offered, and, indeed, there will have to be great expansion if civil aviation is to achieve its well-advertised aim of carrying all long-distance first-class mail and 80 per cent of first-class passenger traffic.

But who is to get the business? Are the big lines with their through routes to share the bulk of it by multiplying schedules where the traffic is heavy and by extending their systems so as to include the new local and feeder services? Or are the smaller lines to have an opportunity to catch up by being given first chance where there is competition for a new route or where the growth of business warrants increased service on existing routes?

Again, it is to be anticipated that a good many fliers returning from war service will be interested in getting into the aviation business on their own. Any attempt to restrict the field of air transport to the companies which have already staked out a claim would be bitterly resented. Finally, there is the hotly debated question of the extent, if any, to which surface carriers are to be allowed to take to the air. At present that matter is regulated by the Civil Aeronautics Act of 1938, which provides that the Civil Aeronautics Board may permit control of an air carrier by a surface carrier if it "finds that the transaction proposed will promote the public interest and will not restrain competition"; and then only where the proposed service is incidental to the operations of the surface carrier.

The present tendency of the CAB is to interpret this clause far too narrowly to satisfy the railroads, which are pressing for a change in the law. This is one of the reasons why the Lea bill, which was favorably reported on last year by the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee, has since encountered very heavy weather and is now stranded on the rocks of the Rules Committee. The purpose of this bill is to codify existing aviation laws and to provide for an expanding future. Its two most controversial features are its omission of any mention of the surface carriers, whose ambitions will continue to be curbed by the 1938 act, and its assignment of all authority over "common-carrier" air operations to the federal authority—an attempt to preserve aviation from the regulation by forty-eight different authorities which has so bedeviled road transport.

This proposal to establish the principle that air sovereignty is a federal and not a state attribute has raised the usual clamor about states' rights, and it is under that banner that the Lea bill is being most hotly fought. There is some reason to believe, however, that this agitation is, in part at least, a cover for railroad opposition. In any case the alternative bill introduced by Congressional opponents of the Lea measure would, while preventing surface carriers from engaging directly in air transport, prohibit the denial of an application for an air route on the ground that the application was controlled by a surface company. In other words, the railroads would only have to form subsidiaries in order to gain entrance into the air-transport business.

It is, of course, very natural for the railroads to wish to obtain a share in a new form of transport that threatens

to take away some of the cream of their own business. But it does not follow that the public interest would be served by ministering to their desires. The railroads' propaganda line is a clever one. They do not hint, of course, at any desire to dominate the airways; they do not even talk a great deal about their aerial ambitions. Their slogan is the blessed word "integration."

The case is argued in an elaborate brochure, published by the Transportation Association of America, which declares that the "present national policy of compelling competition between *modes* of transport" is likely to lead to widespread bankruptcy in the common-carrier industry and ultimate government ownership. To avert this catastrophe, the most effective method, it is suggested, would be "to provide for a limited number of competitive transportation companies under private ownership, each being permitted to develop and render all types of services under proper regulation." Such companies should be organized by negotiation between the existing common carriers subject to the approval of the Interstate Commerce Commission, in which all federal regulation would then be centralized.

On the surface this plan provides certain safeguards against monopoly, although the authors of the plan stress that competition between transportation companies should be on the level of services rather than rates. But as Wendell Berge, head of the Department of Justice Anti-Trust Division, showed in his recent statement to the Senate Military Affairs Committee, railroads have been in the habit of combining not only to block rate reductions but also to discourage the use of improved equipment and the provision of better services.

None of the air lines have shown any disposition to accept the invitation of the railroad spider to walk into its pretty integrated parlor. They have no illusions about the fact that any kind of vertical consolidation would, in view of the enormous disparity between the financial resources of the railroads and of other common carriers, leave the former in full control. And they are hardly to be blamed for suspecting that the main object of any transportation trust so dominated would be to protect the existing investment of the railroads at all costs.

Rapid expansion of air transport depends primarily on a reduction of charges which will enable travelers and shippers to take advantage of the savings in time made possible by flying. Is it reasonable to suppose that railroad interests would be enthusiastic about reducing airplane fares and freight rates if it meant diverting traffic from the railroads and rendering equipment redundant? Would there not be an irresistible temptation to freeze air charges at levels which would leave flying a luxury and insure the maintenance of railroad rates?

On the other hand, if natural competition between air and surface carriers is stimulated, we can reasonably expect that the latter will find ways and means of cutting costs and prices. In an interview with the *Railroad Age* (quoted in *American Aviation* of December 15, 1943) an unnamed railroad executive declared that while some loss of business to the air lines was inevitable, competition could be met by providing faster, more comfortable, and cheaper trains. "Fares," he said, "must be reduced, and I ardently hope that they will be lowered immediately before the railroads empty their trains by incorrect pricing." How much chance would a policy so beneficial to the public have if air lines and railroads were integrated?

To the threat of surface-carrier encroachments the air

THERE YOU ARE! THE VOICE OF BRITAIN! WHAT'S THE USE OF THINKING WE CAN WORK WITH HIM?
THE NARROW VIEW
British Blimp
U.S.A. Blimp
SANE BRITAIN
REPORT OF SENATORS
UNITED NATIONS POST-WAR AIMS
SANE AMERICA

BLIMP CALLS TO BLIMP

lines, large and small, oppose a united front. It is not enough for them, however, to inveigh against the monopolistic designs of the enemy; they need to take more active steps to maintain competition among themselves. One of the most damaging arguments used by the railroad lobby is that the present setup in air transport tends to concentrate traffic in the hands of the trunk systems. The "Big Four" have 23,596 miles of route against 17,314 divided among the twelve others. And as they also cover the most productive territory, each mile yields them three times as much business as the smaller operators can gather per mile.

At a recent hearing before a CAB examining board concerning conflicting claims for the Detroit-St. Louis-Memphis route, a spokesman for the Chicago and Southern Air Lines propounded the theory "that the development of the sound domestic air-transportation system envisaged by the Civil Aeronautics Act requires that the present disparity in size between the Big Four and the twelve other domestic carriers be reduced." In reply Captain E. V. Rickenbacker of Eastern Airlines declared that it would be fatal to build up the small lines at the expense of the large. In allotting routes, he said, the ruling consideration should be which carrier can "most conveniently, efficiently, and economically" provide the service the public needs.

Granted that this must be the standard, the problem the CAB faces is not much nearer to solution. As between large company A and small company B, the former can probably offer better terms to the public at any given moment. But if the big boys are fattened by new business while the little fellows starve on the unprofitable crumbs, will the long-term interests of the public be served? The reasonably probable outcome is that the small companies will go broke or be forced to merge with larger competitors. And this in turn would result in the domination of domestic air transport by a handful of very powerful concerns, which, like most other businesses in a similar situation, would tend to find means of moderating their competition with each other in order to maintain monopolistic standards of profits.

With most types of public utility, competition is either uneconomic or impracticable. But as Oswald Ryan, a member of the CAB, has pointed out, "The inherent characteristics of air transportation, especially its freedom from the necessity of large fixed-property investment, the relatively small amount of capital required in proportion to the volume of the service rendered, and its relatively small fixed costs, make this industry peculiarly adapted to a competitive economy."

If the CAB adopts this view when formulating its general policy in relation to the mass of applications now in hand, it must surely decide to encourage competition to a greater extent than it has done hitherto. It will not leave heavily traveled routes to a single company; it will give the smaller operators a chance to expand and consolidate their systems; it will open a gate for entrance into the air-transport field by qualified newcomers. Such a policy need not cramp the present leaders, especially if they are permitted to expand overseas. And they ought to be the first to recognize that a certain restraint in their ambitions is the best justification of their demand that the air be left to the airmen.

10 Years Ago in "The Nation"

PROPAGANDA from Germany in behalf of its present government continues to clutter up my desk. . . . I am appealed to on behalf of the Deutsche Auslandsinstitut in Stuttgart with the request that I join them in explaining to the American public what a magnificent thing the Hitler government is. . . . This is sent to the publisher and contributing editor of the first American periodical to be excluded from Germany by Adolf Hitler!—OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, *March 7, 1934.*

PERSONAL: Consider life for the masses not worth while. Organizing an Anti-Life Society. Members to bring no children into world. Communicate if interested. (ADVT.)—*March 14, 1934.*

IN AN OBSCURE CORNER of the financial section of the New York *Times* the following interesting item recently appeared: "Alarm over the slowing up of the destruction of coffee in Brazil was allayed in local trade circles yesterday when the New York Coffee and Sugar Exchange received a cable dispatch from the National Coffee Department of Brazil stating that there has been no change of policy. . . ." Who said the depression was over?—*March 14, 1934.*

THE CATHOLIC and landowners' program in Spain is Catholic fascism, but though they have plenty of money they lack the mass base upon which fascism was able to step to power elsewhere, and they are faced by an almost completely united front, such as German and Italian workers were unable to form. The prospect in Spain, therefore, is prolonged, violent civil war, and the outcome is by no means as easy to forecast as it was in Germany or Austria.—*March 21, 1934.*

THE NAZI DRIVE to coordinate Austria with Germany is not an end in itself. It is but an initial step in the realization of Nazi dreams of a self-contained Third Reich stretching from the Baltic to the Adriatic.—JOHANNES STEEL, *March 21, 1934.*

THE MACHINE-ART SHOW at the Museum of Modern Art puts ball bearings on black velvet, laboratory glass in rhythmic procession against a calculated light, and springs, propellers, plumbing, and stoves against fine woods and fabrics. . . . A screw and a spring and a propeller are surely beautiful, but they are not art unless everything that is beautiful is also to be called art—a tree, a girl, a horse.—ANITA BRENNER, *March 28, 1934.*

G. I. in India

OUR first thought, when we were assigned to this place, was to try to find it on a map. But it was not on the map we had, or on any of the larger maps of India we bought in town. When we arrived here we understood why.

Our camp was simply a cluster of tents and bamboo huts at the bottom of a valley. It was in a clearing ringed by tea fields and jungle grass. The inhabitants of the nearby villages were dressed in loin cloths and carried long curved knives. It was all rather like a story in the *National Geographic*. If Osa Johnson had wandered up to say hello, no one would have been surprised.

Instead, our receptionist was a billeting-office sergeant who, like all his kind in the army, seemed terribly harassed and wondered where the hell he was going to put us. He put four of us into a tent so full of holes that we swore it had been meant for a shower bath. The monsoons were on, and it rained almost every day, sometimes without halt for forty-eight or seventy-two hours. We built small platforms for our barracks bags, to keep them off the soaked earth, and arranged our cots so that they were not directly under the holes. But for six weeks, until we moved into *bashas* with raised brick floors and grass roofs, we never had dry beds or dry clothing. After a while our possessions became a moist, mouldy mass. One morning in disgust I threw away a pipe, a pound of tobacco, and a number of other things I had wanted sufficiently to carry halfway around the world.

Our tent was at the edge of camp, and every day small herds of cows would come to graze on the surrounding grass and on our tent ropes. We had once been at a place where a Burmese ape made a practice of cavorting across the mess table, at another where we had to guard the contents of our mess kits against marauding crows, but the cows were the most irritating of all. Their noisy chewing waked us up, and several times a day one would stick its head under the tent flap and moo.

The valley had been described to us as the "land of three M's"—mud, mosquitoes, and malaria. The description was dismally accurate. The whole valley bottom was thick, brown mud. Trucks moving along what were known euphemistically as roads were visible only above their wheel hubs. The mosquitoes were thick everywhere. One morning a tent-mate found eighteen bites on a small patch of his shoulder which had apparently touched his netting. He had heard somewhere that it took malaria three weeks to develop, and until the time was up suffered many imagined chills. It was a camp order to sleep under mosquito netting, and to tuck trousers bottoms into socks and roll down shirt sleeves at sundown. Most of the men required little urging. We used our nets as much to keep out flying cockroaches and stray snakes as mosquitoes. One man spent a long morning under his net waiting for a seven-foot cobra to move on.

During our first two months in this place our work schedule consisted of four twelve-hour day shifts followed by four twelve-hour night shifts, with a break of thirty-six hours when we changed over. At four-thirty in the morning we struggled into our damp clothes, walked out through mud and darkness, and usually rain, to the washroom, and from there to the mess hall for breakfast. Breakfast consisted of hotcakes, sausages, and a hot, dark fluid which the cooks sometimes identified as coffee and sometimes as tea. Later there was a gratifying improvement in our cuisine, but during the first month we lived on hotcakes, frankfurters, corned willy, and C ration. After breakfast we climbed into an open truck, and bumped and lurched over four miles of the world's most rutted road to the communications shack where we worked. Often we arrived in a sodden state and had to work in our shorts while our clothes dried. By the time our shift was over the sun would be going down, and the ride back through the tea fields in the soft light of evening was fine—when it did not rain. We had dinner as soon as we got back, and afterward, since there was nothing else to do, went to our tent to write letters. We wrote by lantern light. The lantern attracted swarms of insects. They flew into our faces, settled down on our paper, buzzed distractingly in our ears. We spent twenty minutes flicking them away for every ten minutes of writing. We soon took refuge in our damp but net-protected cots and talked lazily until we fell asleep.

It was a rigorous routine, but we had no acute sense of hardship. What bothered us most, I think, was the monotony and such inconveniences as lighting cigarettes with wet matches and trying to have clothes laundered in a place where the sun was the only drying apparatus and it rained most of the time.

One evening I walked into our tent and found the other fellows laughing over a copy of *Life*. There was an article in it by Hanson W. Baldwin complaining that American soldiers thought too much of steak and other equally pleasant American institutions, and that they were unwilling to endure hardships. He wondered how well American soldiers would "take it" in a Scottish

commando camp, where men slept on plank beds six feet and some inches long and three feet wide. Several weeks before, our most comfortable bed for sixteen days had been a pile of railroad ties. For the last two of those days the four of us had had only three small cans of cold beans—about three spoonfuls for each of us a day—and some tea. The memory of it made the stern Mr. Baldwin seem very funny.

[*This is the second of a series of intermittent letters which we began publishing last spring under the general title Letters from a Pfc. The author, now a corporal, is a veteran contributor to* The Nation.]

William Allen White

BY LEWIS GANNETT

WILLIAM ALLEN WHITE, who died on January 29, was an American legend. He was the small-town boy who won international fame as a small-town editor. Some folks thought of him as a great liberal; he was really great as a super-average American, and he never thought of himself as anything else.

When, in 1895, he borrowed $3,000 and bought the good-will and equipment of the Emporia *Gazette*, he knew how to do everything that had to be done in his one-room office. He could set type, feed the press, kick the jobber, keep books, solicit advertising, deliver papers, and write the whole sheet. He was twenty-seven years old, and he had been in the newspaper business, as printer's devil, substitute printer, reporter, and editorial writer, for ten years. He was coming home to the town he was born in, after growing up across the Flint Hills in El Dorado, going to college across the Kaw in Lawrence, and making good in the state capital of Topeka and in the big city of Kansas City, Missouri, across the state boundary.

"The new editor," he wrote in his first owner-editorial, "hopes to live here until he is the old editor. . . . He hopes always to sign 'from Emporia' after his name, when he is abroad. . . . He will support the Republican nominee first, last, and all the time. . . . The main thing is to have this paper represent the average thought of the best people of Emporia and Lyon County."

He was "Will White of Emporia" for thirty-nine years after that, and, except for a detour with Theodore Roosevelt, he always supported the Republican ticket. (He was mugwump enough to support a Democrat, Polk, for governor of Missouri, once, and between elections he was very friendly to both Woodrow Wilson and Franklin D. Roosevelt.) To the end of his days he stoutly insisted that he wasn't much if any better than, and very little different from, a dozen other Kansas editors; he'd just had more luck.

A year after young Mr. White took over the *Gazette*, he got into an argument on Commercial Street with a Populist who did not seem to him to be one of the best people of Emporia, and he was pretty mad by the time he arrived at his office desk. So he sat down and wrote a peppery editorial called What's the Matter with Kansas?—arguing that the matter was poor people, reformers, and assorted hell-raisers. Mark Hanna, the Republican national boss at the time, read it, liked it, and reprinted it by the million to help elect his William McKinley. So doing, Mark Hanna made William Allen White, at twenty-eight, the best-known country-paper editor in the United States, or in the world.

Will White meditated a lot about that editorial in later years. At first he boasted of it; by 1904 he was writing that "there wasn't an original idea or expression in the whole piece; it was merely what had been heard on the streets, in offices, or on trains. It was a mirror of the popular temper at that time." By 1906 he was calling it "paleozoic." Before he died he was ashamed of it, in so far as he was ever ashamed of what he regarded as the normal vagaries of the growing human animal.

He had the courage to grow. And it wasn't just courage; he liked growing. He loved living. On his sixty-fifth birthday he wrote, pretty honestly: "I have never had a bored hour in my life. I get up every morning wondering what new, strange, gorgeous thing is going to happen, and it always happens at fairly reasonable intervals." He said that years before he had seen a banner stretched across the Coney Island boardwalk reading, "Ain't It Grand to Be Bughouse," and that had been his life's motto ever since. That wasn't quite true. He wasn't bughouse; William Allen White's genius was that he was usually one, but seldom two, steps ahead of his fellowmen; he never doubted that Emporia, and Kansas, and the United States would catch up with him next year if not this.

That averageness was one secret of his success. His very unaverage talent for peppery phrase was another. Virtually every young newspaperman in the United States in the last third of a century has dreamed of buying a paper and rivaling William Allen White's success, but, as Mr. White himself often pointed out, even little county-seat newspapers can't be picked up these days for a borrowed $3,000; and furthermore, most of the would-be super-Whites lack both his invaluable sense of averageness and his actual superiorness. He was always on the

wave length with Emporia. He had no itch, as so many young men of today and yesterday have had, to uplift and alter it; he just wanted to help it grow, and grow with it. He happened also to have a pungent writing talent that helped no end in consolidating his business position in Emporia. He paid off the mortgage the year after Doubleday and McClure, of New York City, published his book "The Court of Boyville"; he bought his Associated Press franchise after Scribner's issued "Stratagems and Spoils"; and the *Saturday Evening Post's* checks for his In Our Town sketches paid for the *Gazette's* first linotype machine.

Though he made fame and money outside of Kansas, his faults and his virtues were a part of his Kansasness. The geographical center of the United States is in Kansas, and that's where William Allen White belonged. Russell Fitzgibbon in 1937 collected a bookful of his editorials in "Forty Years on Main Street," and some of them were pretty bad—though Mr. Fitzgibbon didn't print the worst; and Mr. White added footnotes to the book pointing out how very bad some of them were. John T. Flynn, in a recent book, dug up some appalling pieces that Will White wrote during the Spanish War; Hitler himself couldn't have been more blatantly superior-Aryan. That was the mood of the American people at the moment; and White would not have been as effective as he was had he been far out of step with it. He had no talent or taste for the impossible lost cause; he fought his best fights when his people were divided and uncertain and movable—as about the Klan in Kansas in 1924, and about aid to the Allies in 1940—when his not inconsiderable weight could effectively help to tilt the scales.

He was, in other words, a genuine democrat. He believed in people. He expected to grow with the people, not to "make" people grow. And in that he was ably seconded by Sallie Lindsay White. If Will White was the legendary American country editor, Will and Sallie White were the legendary American couple. "I have never made even a secondary decision that we have not canvassed it together and agreed before the decision was made," he wrote on his fortieth wedding anniversary. "Sometimes she had her way, sometimes I had mine. But never until we had worked out what we felt was the truth and the way to go together. In the conduct of the Emporia *Gazette* she has been a full partner. She can come down to the desk and run the paper as well as I . . . and she knows the town better than I do."

What Will White wrote about his daughter Mary, twenty-three years ago, in what is probably the most republished editorial in American newspaper history, was pertinent to Mary's father too. "She was the happiest thing in the world. And she was happy because she was enlarging her horizons," he wrote. "She was mischievous without malice, as full of faults as an old shoe. No angel was Mary White, but an easy girl to live with, for she never nursed a grouch five minutes in her life." Nor did her father.

If I'm right that Will White's genius was his super-averageness, it's a pretty proud thing to be able to say about Emporia, Kansas, and the U. S. A. But it isn't an encouraging phenomenon for neurotic intellectuals in the cities who dream of reforming the country by means of country newspapers, bought cheap.

In the Wind

A FRENCHMAN WHO RECENTLY arrived in New York brings this story from the underground. A Nazi colonel in Paris bought a newspaper from the same boy every day. The boy always said, "Voici le journal, grand con." Those last two words are a filthy term of abuse, which *The Nation* leaves untranslated to spare the sensibilities of the Postmaster General. The colonel asked a French acquaintance the meaning of *con,* which he could not find in any dictionary. The Frenchman, thinking fast to save the newsboy, told him it was an abbreviation of *conquérant*. Next day, when the newsboy used the term, the colonel patted him on the shoulder and said, "Non. Je suis le petit con. Le grand con c'est Hitler."

THE PLANNING BOARD of Nutley, New Jersey, has submitted to the Town Commission an agreement which post-war residential builders would be required to sign. One of its provisions reads: "No person belonging to any race except persons of pure Caucasian blood shall use or occupy any dwelling house erected on any lot, except that this covenant shall not be construed to prevent the occupancy by domestic servants of a different race when actually employed by the owner or tenant of any such premises."

THE COMMUNIST PRESS is not what it used to be. The *New Masses* criticizes I. F. Stone for deploring Roosevelt's omission of the Wagner Act from his list of New Deal accomplishments, and the *Daily Worker* comments thus on Henry Wallace's Seattle speech: "Vice-President Wallace unfortunately doesn't help the struggle against the anti-Teheran elements by his general attack on Wall Street. The widest kind of national unity is necessary to defeat them, including clear-headed business men from Wall Street."

AN ARTICLE on the renegotiation law in the *Railway Clerk* quotes Maurice H. Karker, chairman of the War Department's Price Adjustment Board: "In reaching a conclusion we allow an adequate margin of profit, plus a margin of generosity, plus a margin for good measure."

FESTUNG EUROPA: A current joke in Prague is that war daylight-saving time was introduced not to save an hour of daylight but to permit the Nazis to stay in the city an hour longer on the day of their defeat.

[We invite our readers to submit material for In the Wind. A prize of $5 will be awarded each month for the best item.]

Can We Make Use of Hirohito?

BY EDWARD HUNTER

UNITED STATES forces have made their first conquest of Japanese territory, American warships have bombarded at least the northernmost fringe of what the Japanese regard as their mainland, and "a Pearl Harbor in reverse" has been inflicted upon the great South Pacific base of Truk. The recent shake-up in the Japanese high command is good proof that the leaders of Japan recognize the seriousness of the military situation.

I fear, however, that their confidence in ultimate victory has not been shaken. As long as the Emperor sits upon his throne, supported by American propaganda, they know that military defeat can be made a temporary condition, a matter of a few decades of renewed preparation. As long as the Emperor is inviolate, Japan will not admit that it has been truly conquered, whether it officially accepts Allied terms of unconditional surrender or not. The Japanese people are patient. Defeat may jolt their pride; it may deprive them of land and resources. But if their man-god sovereign is permitted to lead them, then the road to world domination, though it be long and hard, lies straight ahead. Reverses mean only that faith has not been sufficiently strong to carry Japan to its final destination, and faith must be revived. This was the fundamental concept of Emperor Meiji, the creator of modern Japan. His minister, Hotta, proclaimed it when a department of foreign affairs was set up in 1858. "In establishing relations with foreign countries the object should always be kept in view of laying the foundations for securing the hegemony of Japan over all nations. . . . To have such a ruler over the whole world is without doubt in conformity with the will of heaven."

This "will of heaven" still governs the Japanese Foreign Office. Any compromise peace we might make would be an invitation to further aggression, an overture to new Pearl Harbors. In discussing the question of Allied political policy toward Japan, Dr. Sun Fo, son of the founder of the Chinese Republic, recently said that there can be no decisive victory over Japan unless "the Emperor and the cult of Emperor worship" are swept away, along with "the military caste and its officer cadre." The Japanese people, he pointed out, will no more be able to maintain peace in the future than they have been in the past "if the Emperor remains a divine institution and Emperor worship the state religion." China once had a Son of Heaven of its own, who lives in the memories of hundreds of Chinese. They know how distorted is the reasoning which would perpetuate such an anachronism.

When Japanese leaders examine the transcripts of American short-wave broadcasts and propaganda leaflets, it is not difficult for them to detect the reverent attitude which we assume toward Hirohito whenever we mention him, or to note that we usually go out of our way not to mention him at all. They can conclude, and justly, that our diplomatic and military forces have been warned to take no action, verbal or otherwise, against the Japanese Emperor. This policy of respectful silence is never violated by the Office of War Information, either in broadcasts to Asia or in propaganda for home consumption. In an article published in the New York *Herald Tribune* on December 13, 1942, Wilfred Fleisher, who has spent many years in Japan as a foreign correspondent, quoted Elmer Davis as saying that our propaganda made no reference to Hirohito "because of a policy laid down by the State Department." Those who administer American foreign affairs, the article continued, feel that Hirohito "may yet play a useful role in the peace to follow Japan's defeat." Our deference toward Hirohito, therefore, it said, was not merely a military expedient—the usual apology for political action—but the cornerstone of the post-war structure we want to set up in Asia.

Mr. Fleisher's statements were substantiated last November 15 by the Washington correspondent of the New York *Journal-American*. "The suggestion," this correspondent said, "that the 'high standing' of the Emperor in the affections of his people would make him an admirable democratic figurehead has been tossed out to news correspondents of late by officials whose duties carry them frequently into the White House."

Immediately after the United States declared war upon Japan, the government began to censor speeches in which the Japanese Emperor was criticized. Indeed, American propaganda short-waved across the Pacific has actually attempted to boost the stock of the Japanese Emperor in the eyes of his subjects. We have placed the entire responsibility for Japan's aggressiveness upon temporary figures like Premier Tojo, who can be replaced overnight without altering a single aspect of imperial policy. And we have implied time and again that Japan's militarists have acted contrary to the wishes of the Emperor. "On some future day known only to the gods," said Senator Elbert Thomas, in a short-wave broadcast prepared for the OWI, "the Japanese people may again bring forth

the red-and-white victory lanterns. . . . That victory will commemorate the defeat of all Japanese militarists and the return of the Japanese people to the ideals of His Imperial Majesty—the Tenno."

Can we blame the Japanese people, then, for cherishing the comforting thought that if and when the war turns decisively against them, all they need to do is drop a few well-known generals and admirals, and lo, they may return to the status quo of December 6, 1941?

The idea that His Imperial Majesty is a mere puppet in the hands of his generals is either wishful thinking or a deliberate distortion of the facts. Members of the Emperor's family are in active service and hold key military positions. Imperial military headquarters have been established inside the Emperor's palace in Tokyo. There the attack against us was planned, and there decisive policy and strategy are made. John Goette, a veteran American correspondent in the Far East, reported in "Japan Fights for Asia" that Japanese imperial headquarters frankly stated in a broadcast on March 8, 1943, that the general plan of the war against the United States and Great Britain had been submitted to the Emperor for his approval. Hallett Abend, long the Far Eastern correspondent of the New York *Times,* wrote recently that Hirohito "is directly responsible for Japan's military adventures. He knows of his army's excesses and its offenses against civilians, and more than that, he approves of them." Abend quoted a Japanese consul general in Shanghai as saying that when he described the Japanese rape and pillage in Nanking, the Emperor listened eagerly and approvingly, demanding sadistic details.

Hirohito enunciated his policy in an imperial rescript when the Japanese-German-Italian pact was signed: "It is the bequeathed instruction of our imperial ancestors that justice be enhanced in all directions and the whole universe be placed under one roof. This instruction is the one that we are faithfully observing day and night." The "instruction" of Hirohito's "imperial ancestors" was contained in a proclamation by the Emperor Jimmu, who ruled Japan twenty-six centuries ago. It is recorded in the "Nihongi." "Hereafter," Jimmu said when he established his capital, "the capital may be extended so as to embrace all the six cardinal points, and the eight cords may be covered so as to form a roof."

This conception, known as *Hakko Ichiu,* is the official policy of Japan, unalterable as long as the Japanese imperial system exists. "The co-prosperity sphere in the Far East," declared Foreign Minister Matsuoka in a Diet session, "is based on the spirit of *Hakko Ichiu,* or the Eight Corners of the Universe Under One Roof. It is not that America's leaders can't understand this, but that they don't try to understand it."

Try to understand it we must if we are ever to admit Japan into the community of nations. We must understand that the tribal teachings of orthodox imperial Shintoism are responsible for the threat that Japan offers to all other peoples of the world; that the power of the Emperor derives not from any qualities of his own but from the holy garb in which the national religion has vested him; that while he holds the scepter the world will not be safe from Japanese conquest by divine command.

Drawing by Hoffmeister

The Son of Heaven

The fear that insurmountable chaos would follow the overthrow of the Emperor is exaggerated and defeatist. The Japanese are no more deeply imbued with a belief in the necessity of an imperial system than were the Chinese hardly a generation ago. Moreover, a Japanese tradition will have been broken by this war, if we avoid appeasement—the tradition that Japanese soil never has been and never will be "desecrated" by foreign invasion. Allied and Chinese troops will march down Tokyo's Ginza. The Japanese have been indoctrinated with the idea that the Chinese are inferiors, to be despised. Chinese soldiers in Japan, victorious, cannot fail to arouse the deepest emotion in the breast of every Japanese peasant. That, indeed, will be something the simplest among them will be able to understand.

A Free Japan movement, a movement for a Japanese republic, will start spontaneously as the result of such a shock. The Allies can foster it by pursuing a statesmanlike policy. By subjecting Japanese people interned or resident within our borders to a vigorous propaganda campaign, we can gain powerful allies to further the republican cause in Japan. By maintaining an intelligent system of military government in Japan until a system considered safe for world peace has been established, we can supply the necessary impetus to the creation of a truly democratic regime. Moreover, we can make the Japanese "liberals" of whom Ambassador Grew and others have spoken in such hopeful terms into *real* liberals, not pretenders who use liberalism as a political mask. These "liberals" have been tainted by orthodox Shintoism more profoundly than Americans suppose. When Japan is freed of Shintoism with its worship of the Emperor, the "liberals" too will be freed, and will be able to assume an active role in the development of a progressive democracy.

The Japanese, like the Chinese, are practical about their gods. If one god does not answer a man's prayers, he is replaced by another. The Japanese have a host of gods and many religions. Many individuals, in fact, profess several religions. I have met persons who insisted that they were Christians, Shintoists, and Buddhists, all at once. The Emperor is a god because he has succeeded. Let him fail and he will be dispossessed—unless the United States government takes it upon itself to polish the jewels of the crown.

Behind the Enemy Line

BY ARGUS

MANY prisoners of war from General Giraud down have escaped from Germany. Many stories about their escapes have been published in the newspapers. But none of them have contained any suggestion of the facts which a French officer who fled from Germany in the summer of 1943 confided to a Swiss newspaper, the St. Gall *Tagblatt,* and which that newspaper printed on February 2. The gist of the officer's surprising story is that the French war prisoners and forced laborers in Germany have a well-organized "resistance movement," that messengers go back and forth constantly between the prison camps and the "resistance" in France, and that the movement receives continuous aid from German sympathizers.

The officer who reports these facts escaped from the *Stalag* at Königsberg, but in the course of his three years' imprisonment he had been in several other camps, and he says that the same thing went on in them all. "The French resistance," he declares, "is perhaps more tightly organized in Germany than at home." He speaks of "central committees" in each camp and of a directing head on French soil.

What this organization actually accomplishes remains obscure. For the moment it seems to do little except try to keep up the spirits of the prisoners and maintain and increase its own strength. To further both aims, the officer writes, "we concentrated our efforts on one thing":

> To prevent our work from being isolated, from being carried on, so to speak, in a vacuum, we had to form permanent connections with the resistance at home. The task before us was complicated and difficult. It was necessary to establish a liaison between the various camps, a liaison with the civilian workers, a liaison with the home country and with Algiers.

In order to make these liaisons, delegates are continually being helped to flee from the camps. In recent months an average of eleven persons a day is said to have escaped from all the camps in Germany. They make their way to France, but not to remain there permanently; "only to inform the *maquis* [the underground] of our activities and proposals and then to carry back to the prisoners of war word of the activities and decisions of the home front. In order to do this, the messengers, after fulfilling their mission in France, return to Germany in the guise of civilian workers."

But the most interesting part of the officer's story is his account of a widespread German organization which cooperates with the French prisoners:

> Of course the whole scheme requires a vast network of branches which can procure false identity cards, money, clothing, and food. Had we not been able to rely on the active help of German workers and soldiers, nothing could have been accomplished. I left many good friends among the Germans when, one stifling summer night, we cut the barbed wire of the *Stalag* at an unguarded place and left the camp.

Our officer even goes so far as to intimate that the military police gives them some aid, at least to the extent that it does not allow the Gestapo to destroy their organization.

> The Gestapo [he says] has exact information about the organization, which has been in existence for two years, but the military police, which has jurisdiction over the prison camps, does not tolerate any interference from the Gestapo, and thus the latter is unable to do anything.

The author of this report did not return to Germany. "An order came from Algiers not to leave the country, as a great task was before us. We have therefore stayed in France and become soldiers of the resistance army."

In one respect, he says, a marked cleavage exists between the French resistance, one may say the French people, and the escaped prisoners of war:

> We soon realized that our attitude toward the Germans was very different from that of the people at home. We had seen Germans in their own homes, their daily sufferings, their weakness, and their fear of the future. But in the mind of the average Frenchman under the cruel occupation regime a German means the Gestapo. Whereas our hatred is directed chiefly against the collaborationists and profiteers, the hatred of Frenchmen at home is concentrated on the occupying nation.
>
> These different points of view naturally caused tension between us prisoners of war and the members of the resistance movement within France.

So much for the officer's report. The writer of this column wishes to emphasize that he cannot test any of its statements, but that the St. Gall *Tagblatt* is not an irresponsible or sensational newspaper. It should be added that the French officer—obviously a Communist—is as wrong to form his judgment of Germans from a few sympathetic individuals as are those who form theirs from the most obnoxious specimens. With this reservation, his story seems important enough to be reprinted here.

BOOKS *and the* ARTS

The Dancing Star

GARCIA LORCA. By Edwin Honig. New Directions. $1.50.

EDWIN HONIG'S book on García Lorca is conscientious, systematic, scholarly, and not a little pedestrian. But Lorca's own brilliance is sufficiently intense to offset considerable dullness on the part of his interpreters; moreover, Mr. Honig quotes him copiously, both in the original and in his own translations, which while not exactly inspired are accurate enough and adequate to give the general idea.

Both as regards biographical and bibliographical detail Mr. Honig presents, compactly, more material than has so far appeared in any book on Lorca in English. This material makes up Mr. Honig's opening chapter. In the second he traces, painstakingly, the poet's heritage, going back in his search as far as the eleventh century. He might have gone back even farther, for Quintilian, writing of Roman writers who originated in Spain, makes comments that indicate that certain elements, familiar in the pattern, were fixed even in his day; and, for that matter, who knows what archetypal strains of *cante jondo* may not have risen round Hannibal's campfires in the night, before Saguntum, or along the Ebro? From the eleventh century Mr. Honig traces the line through the period of the Golden Age, from Lope de Vega and the double spell of Góngora, through the gipsy influence of the fifteenth century, all the way to the transmarine impact of Rubén Darío and the trans-Pyreneean attractions of French classicism, symbolism, Parnassianism, and surrealism.

Lorca's work, in Mr. Honig's opinion, is readily divided into two periods, one from 1918 to 1930, the other from 1930 to his death in 1936. To the first period belongs most of the poetic composition; to the second, the dramatic. To each of these periods Mr. Honig devotes two chapters; it is clear that he considers the dramatic work the more important, but he is careful to show that the course of development was not a single monolinear advance, but that there was a good deal of interaction, a simultaneous advance on several levels, as well as periods of distraction, regression, and confusion. Mr. Honig's last two chapters are devoted to summation. "The secret," he writes, "of Lorca's whole art is that as a poet he had an overwhelming impulsion to supplement the written word by a union of various artistic media; and that despite the consequences to which thi[s] him, he succeeded in remaining primarily a poet."

Reading Mr. Honig's book, one is impressed, [h]ever, with the fact that the trouble with Lorc[a] phrase in its most literal sense, without dero[g]tion—was that he was so many kinds of t[hi]answer to some political questionnaire, he or[d]ing to be facetious, that he was a Cath[o]Anarchist, Libertarian, Traditionalist, and [a]there's many a true word spoken in jest; a[nd] added that he was also Granadan and glo[bal] and surrealist; man and woman; cinéaste [and] (one hopes that some scholar, some time, [will] positions), lyricist, and dramatist; as well as student of philosophy and the law. Few artists in our time could have declared so truly, "Nihil humanum alienum a me puto."

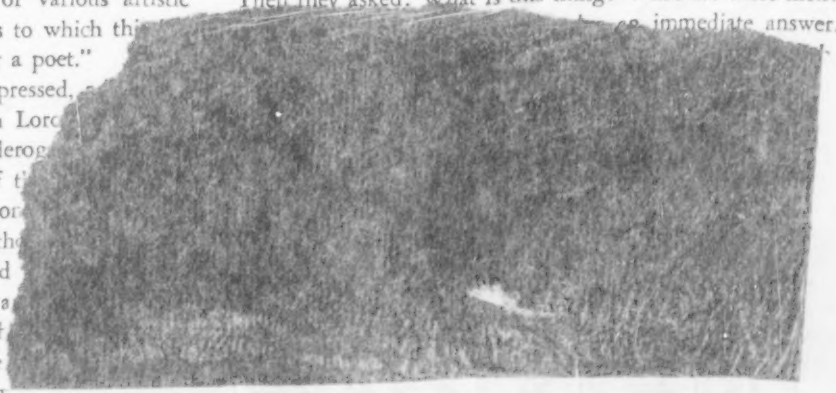
But whether this is entirely good for the artist in our time is another question. Our Alexandrian culture, with its insistence on multiplicity, on specialization, pervades even those feudal, those medieval, areas which would seem strong enough to put up more than token resistance. The Leonardo-like man is none of its requirement; and the artist like Lorca, whose energy responds so abundantly to any stimulus, is hard put to use all, without subduing any, of his potential talents. Like Yeats, whom Lorca surpasses in variety, he could be distracted occasionally, if never long detained, by phony seductions; unlike Yeats, he did not have to contend with a conflict against official religion. He could hardly have endured, with all his energy, much more conflict than he had to face. Mr. Honig seems to feel that in his later work with the poetic dramas he was making progress toward peaks of integration far beyond those attained in the "Romancero Gitano." Still, one is not too sure of this, not too sure that the extravagance might not have become, before too long, wearisome and self-defeating, and that Lorca might not have turned, in new directions, toward a simplicity and austerity, subsumed, as with Yeats, by all he had ever learned and much that he thought he had forgotten. What renunciations he would have had to make, what reconciliation he might have won, the Fascist bullet saved him the trouble of learning. But in his thirty-seven years what brilliance, what tenderness, what grace, music, perception, gaiety flowered from his confusion!

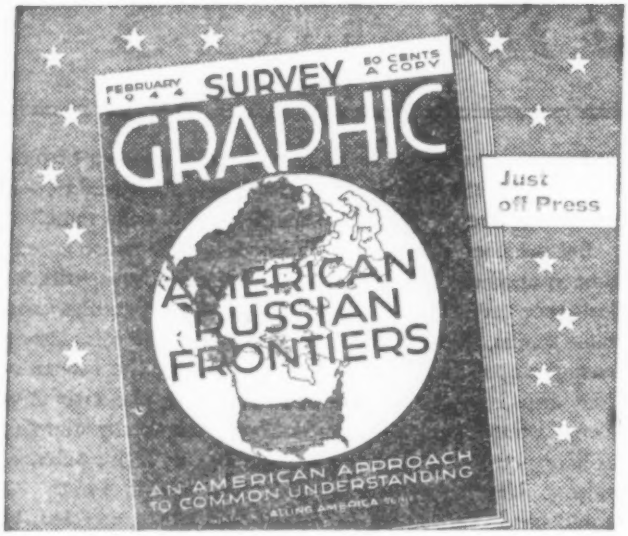
ROLFE HUMPHRIES

Heiden's Hitler

DER FUEHRER: HITLER'S RISE TO POWER. By Konrad Heiden. Houghton Mifflin Company. $3.

UP TO the early thirties people in Germany looked on Hitler and his movement as typical Munich buffoonery. The educated did not feel called on to pay them much attention. Not until the party's success at the polls in 1930 and 1931 were they aware that something serious was afoot. Then they asked: What is this thing? What are these men? [T]hey got no immediate answer.





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Nationalsozialismus" ("The Birth of National Socialism"), and the story was carried to 1933. The third time, in "Hitler, a Biography," it was continued through the murder of Röhm in the summer of 1934. With this event "The Führer" now also ends. It is therefore the author's fourth presentation of the same early phase of National Socialism, a phase which ended ten years ago. The advantages which the book owes to this fact are obvious: the writer is well acquainted with the available material, and his literary skill has remarkably improved. The disadvantages are not less real. For an author who has stuck to certain interpretations for many years does not find it easy to revise them. In this case some of the interpretations were hardly acceptable when they first appeared. They are still less so today. And while the space allotted to this review might be used to acknowledge the book's excellences, it seems better to point out its disputable elements, which in fact touch basic questions.

Among these is a persistent overestimation of Hitler. In spite of Heiden's aversion to the "Anti-Christ" who is his hero, he cherishes an immense admiration for him. "As a human figure lamentable, as a political mind one of the most tremendous phenomena of all world history" is his verdict. Expressions of extravagant though hostile respect for Hitler's political ability are sprinkled all through the book. "Almost unerring feeling," "greatness of will," "unquestionable intellectual power," "uncanny acuteness" are only a few of the qualities ascribed to the "man of genius" in the domain of politics. "Greatness emanating from human nullity" is the formula used to sum him up.

That is an amazing combination, and in order to make it credible Heiden conducts the reader on many explorations into the depths of Hitler's soul. On page after page he describes the reflections, the sensations, the conflicts, and the illuminations which at times of stress are supposed to have agitated Hitler's consciousness and subconsciousness. But even if these psychological vignettes were jewels of art and logic, they would still lack convincingness. They are entirely synthetic. Despite vague hints to the contrary, Heiden has had no more access than anyone else to documents or other evidence that would afford a glimpse of Hitler's soul. He has deduced Hitler's political genius from one single fact—the fact of Hitler's success. There was never any manifestation of this alleged greatness except his success, never any other proof of it. The tendency to infer genius from success is widespread, and in Hitler's case this inference was drawn for many years by all the world. But where is that success now, in 1944?

For years the tremendous political mind of Adolf Hitler ...ected from failure to failure. Even his political acts ...long been demonstrably impotent, imbecile, suicidal. ...eft therefore of the hypothesis of his matchless ... intelligence"? Some day archives and witnesses ...their secrets. The "sensational new material" ...nitely does not exist will then really come to ... shall see verified the obvious conclusion that ...n successful not because of his greatness in ... in spite of his nullity in every respect. ...about other things too we shall undoubtedly ... at variance with this book. For it is not ...al leader that the Führer fascinates his biog-

rapher. There is a tendency to enhance his stature in other fields. While highly doubtful material is often made use of if it is favorable to Hitler, more authentic material unfavorable to him is ignored. Speculations about Hitler's sexual life should not omit all reference to one of the few definitely known facts—namely, his collection of pornographic pictures, which was mentioned in an official report of the French ambassador, François-Poncet. In a consideration of the blinding of the brave soldier Hitler by poison gas, it should be stated that the hospital diagnosed the blindness as "hysterical." When conclusions are drawn from the so-called "Hindenburg will," there should be mention of the fact that this document is strongly suspected of being a pure falsification. But whatever the archives may yield about such side issues, it is already certain that they will not reveal any political genius in Hitler. Among the important things we have learned from the Hitler episode is that in the domain of politics the dullest idiots, through a concatenation of extraordinary circumstances, can become men of destiny. Portraits representing Hitler with the features of greatness dilute this truth, which is as significant as it is terrifying. Indeed, such portraits are not a little dangerous. They can contribute to the survival or the rebirth of a Hitler myth after Hitler's end.

Another aspect of the book is still less acceptable. It unrolls a consistently false picture of Hitler's historical background, the same picture that German nationalists have been successfully propagating for two decades. The thesis is that after the Reich had the bad luck to lose a world war it was constantly, arbitrarily, and unnecessarily mistreated, held down, and snubbed—the implication being that the victors of 1918 are therefore themselves to blame for what followed. The book does not offer a forthright defense of this thesis but suggests it on almost every page. For example, it describes Poland and Czechoslovakia as "states against Germany, to characterize them by their origin." Their mere existence was a kind of attack upon the Reich: "Like two daggers, Poland and Czechoslovakia thrust into Germany, menacing Berlin at a distance of less than 140 miles." That is going pretty far!

Sometimes Germany's sufferings as they are pictured here are scarcely understandable. What, for instance, is meant by the statement that Germany was obliged to live in "frustrated self-determination"? As a matter of fact, very soon after 1919 the Reich could do as it liked in internal affairs—except, theoretically, in military matters. But perhaps the phrase is one of those metaphors which have no exact meaning but which sound impressive. They occur frequently in the book. The depression of the thirties is changed into something more metaphysical—"the decline of the economic age"; Brüning tried to "preserve the economic age." There are many such "true children of the German political fantasy," to make use of Heiden's own expression.

But on other points the author is not at all vague. For weaker nations to try to insure their existence against Germany by defensive alliances was wanton provocation. They had no moral right to any damages from Germany. The reparations were ruinous. When after their cancelation in 1932 a token debt of three billion marks was left on the books—about as much as Hitler spends for one week

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- for the property rights of women
- against monopolies
- against child labor
- for rule by statute, not by judges

WALTER CLARK: FIGHTING JUDGE

By Aubrey Lee Brooks

WHEN Walter Clark was seventeen, he was a Lieutenant Colonel in the Confederate Army (youngest one on either side). Fifty years later, he was still fighting—always on the people's side. When he died a prominent railroad official said: "I never attended a funeral with more pleasure."

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of war—this microscopic residuum was still a "considerable sum." That all the money paid was actually money borrowed abroad is called "too simple." That Germany destroyed the value of its own currency is branded as untrue. That the great depression was less severe in Germany than in the United States is ignored. Even absolutely established facts, which are not open to any different interpretation, appear in the distorted form given them by German propaganda. The French, in particular Marshal Foch, it has been established, demanded in 1919 that the German provinces on the left bank of the Rhine be placed under the protection of a permanent British-American-French police force. According to Heiden, "Marshal Foch demanded the left bank of the Rhine for France." The French, knowing their inherent weakness, fought for the formation of a League of Nations army, the retention of conscription in both Anglo-Saxon countries, and the continued presence of large Anglo-Saxon armies on the Continent. According to Heiden, they fought arrogantly for "France's military hegemony over Europe." Hitler wrote that the First World War "was desired by the whole German people"; we hear now that "the last war at its outbreak was welcomed by nearly all nations." And so forth and so forth.

The evening that I finished reading this book President Roosevelt, just back from Teheran, spoke over the radio of the fifteen-year-long "pathetic whining" of the Germans after 1918, by which the other nations, "full of the milk of human kindness," were induced to undertake "well-intentioned but ill-fated experiments." "Those tragic mistakes," he said, "shall not be made again." I think that the President's ideas not only are closer to the truth than those of "The Führer" but have a better prospect of being carried out.

The question remains, what those who view German affairs as Heiden does will have to say about the settlement that is now drawing near. What thesis, more particularly, will they propagate inside Germany?

LEOPOLD SCHWARZSCHILD

Man and Food

MAN'S FOOD, ITS RHYME OR REASON. By Mark Graubard. The Macmillan Company. $2.50.

THE author, a research associate in the Department of Biology at Clark University, approaches his subject with knowledge and a strong social conscience. It is his social conscience which gives the book its unique quality. To study dietetics as a branch of physiology is one thing; but to apply such knowledge to the feeding of men, women, and children is quite another.

My guess is that Graubard has steeped himself not too deeply but certainly with enthusiasm in Russian dialectics, and in the writings of such Englishmen as Haldane and Bernal. To a large extent it is this point of view which gives Graubard's book the distinctive quality it possesses, for if it is argued that one may go a little too far with this "social-conscience" business, Graubard may well answer that by neglecting it—as many of our food "experts" do so consistently—little can in reality be accomplished. The author is therefore justified in stressing the view that our leaders in the field must not only be authorities on the subject of nutrition but also be mindful of man's attitude toward food (which presupposes some familiarity with anthropology and religion) and of social factors which influence the choice of food (matters within the scope of economics and sociology).

A simple illustration centers in the use of meat. Provided it is hygienically prepared, meat is an excellent source of protein—better than proteins derived from most vegetable sources, though no better than the proteins found in fish, in milk and its products, and in eggs. We have no scientific evidence that the protein found in beef is any better or any worse than that found in pork, in mutton, in horse meat, in dog meat, in fowl, or in game. Yet the religion of the Hindu forbids him to eat beef, and the religion of the Jew forbids him to touch pork, and the religion of the Brahman forbids him to eat any kind of meat, and the prejudice of the Anglo-Saxon prevents him from enjoying horse meat.

And then again, assuming little prejudice, how can we ignore the problems of scarcity and of want—of poor crops, of bad distribution, of inadequate income, not to speak of ignorance and of popular misinformation, wilful or otherwise?

Graubard's book, then, serves a purpose which few books on nutrition can claim. We must know more about food, to be sure; but in order to get most out of such knowledge, we must also know more about man.

The general criticism of the book is that the writing is somewhat awkward. Such sentences as the following are not uncommon: "It is precisely because they [vitamins and minerals] are effective in small amounts that we may slip up in their delivery to the body, miss their physiological function and suffer severe consequences."

But there are also professional inaccuracies which cannot go unchallenged. On page 10 we are told that instinct alone guides rats to a proper choice of food, and on page 33 we are warned against leaning too heavily on instinct. Instinct alone is an insufficient guide; in fact, it is often a very treacherous guide. The paragraph devoted to the relation of diet and resistance to disease may be made much clearer by stating that resistance is always lowered whenever there is a deficiency in the diet. I doubt whether by merely changing their eating habits—a change "dictated by science"—"80 to 90 per cent of our malnourished population would have the means of obtaining a good diet." Here, surprisingly enough, Graubard treats the economic problem much too lightly. Fruits and vegetables are valuable not merely because they contain ascorbic acid. And the author plays directly into the hands of the unscrupulous advertiser when he tells us that large doses of ascorbic acid "have been proved to be beneficial" in colds and infections.

Far more credit should be given to Funk's pioneer work in the vitamin field than either Graubard or others have given it; and though Williams deserves honor for his researches into the chemistry of thiamine, Professor Clarke, of Columbia, should certainly not be ignored.

Where, I ask myself, did Graubard get the information that iron is a direct cure for pernicious anemia—a statement repeated on several occasions? On page 69 the author speaks

Letter to a P.O.W.

WILL YOU WRITE a letter to a Prisoner of War . . . tonight?

Perhaps he was left behind when Bataan fell. Perhaps he had to bail out over Germany. Anyway, he's an American, and he hasn't had a letter in a long, long time.

And when you sit down to write, tell *him* why you didn't buy your share of War Bonds last pay day—if you didn't.

"Dear Joe," you might say, "the old topcoat was getting kind of threadbare, so I . . ."

No, cross it out. Joe might not understand about the topcoat, especially if he's shivering in a damp Japanese cell.

Let's try again. "Dear Joe, I've been working pretty hard and haven't had a vacation in over a year, so . . ."

Better cross that out, too. They don't ever get vacations where Joe's staying.

Well, what are you waiting for? Go ahead, write the letter to Joe. Try to write it, anyhow.

But, if somehow you find you can't finish that letter, will you do this for Joe? Will you up the amount of money you're putting into your Payroll Savings Plan—so that you'll be buying your share of War Bonds from here on in? And will you—for Joe's sake—start doing it right away?

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THE PUBLISHER OF THE NATION

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of "starches and carbohydrates" when probably what was meant was "starch and other carbohydrates"; for is not starch a carbohydrate?

Casein as such is not "suspended in the form of fine particles" in milk, for the casein is in combination with calcium. In fact, the casein, insoluble in water, appears as such only when the milk becomes sour or is deliberately acidified.

On the whole, Graubard has written a challenging book, and it deserves wide attention. BENJAMIN HARROW

Fiction in Review

"THE HUNTED" by Albert J. Guerard (Alfred A. Knopf, $2.50) has rather more to say than most current novels; indeed, it is good enough to make one wish it were better. Mr. Guerard writes about the kind of people he seems to understand from experience, he is knowledgeable about life, and he tells his story by means of dramatic action. Perhaps one of the defects of his book is an excess of drama: there is surely an over-contrivance of plot which makes even his title too obvious. The main theme of "The Hunted" is the fate of a young singing waitress who marries a decadent poet-professor and comes to live in a narrow New England college town. To this primary narrative Mr. Guerard subjoins the story of a young fugitive from the law, a strange figure called the Bomber. At first, for the sake of sensation, both the professor's wife and the Bomber are taken up by the less reliable college element, but eventually—even inevitably—this disreputable society joins hands with bigoted respectability to betray and hound the two outcasts. Mr. Guerard's psychological girl-hunt, in other words, is very melodramatically underscored by his physical man-hunt, and the interweaving of the two narratives reveals the potential violence that lies behind what might otherwise be thought of as mere social snobbery. The trouble is that Mr. Guerard's man-hunt overstates his girl-hunt, and the girl-hunt reduces the pure terror of his man-hunt. The doubling of motifs, that is, works out to weaken the impact of each of them.

It is also a weakness of Mr. Guerard's book that, for all the author's obvious sympathetic interest in people, its leading characters turn out not to be finally very interesting. But this is a common failure in fictional people, and probably as little susceptible of explanation, except in terms of the creative chemistry, as the failure of perfectly plausible people to hold our interest in real life.

On the other hand, "The Hunted" is impressive, despite its shortcomings, because Mr. Guerard has something very important to communicate about American social psychology at the level just below political action. His picture of American college-fraternity life—its anarchy, its sensation-seeking, and its sexual cruelty—is more than a little disturbing and very convincing. We are used to the note of social horror in Southern novels; the existence of a comparable gentlemanly degeneracy in other parts of the country has yet to announce itself very loud in our fiction, though the fact that it does exist comes to us by way of hearsay, certain newspaper stories, and the intuition we often have of a peculiarly native devil lurking beneath our more arrogant humors. Mr. Guerard doesn't weaken his novelistic case by naming the likely political outlet for this kind of anarchic energy, but sections of his book are as frightening as the sound of marching feet in early Hitler Germany.

Although I don't usually like tall tales, I very much enjoyed George Sessions Perry's "Hackberry Cavalier" (The Viking Press, $2.50). Mr. Perry is a most disarming spinner of yarns: he not only writes a superior prose but flatters you out of countenance by assuming that you too are generous enough to accept his generous lies. The Hackberry Cavalier is a young Texan of good family who has a weakness for inexpensive people and pleasures and for flamboyant fights. I can recommend his company for any blue Monday; and I especially recommend Mr. Perry's stories to readers of Jesse Stuart's "Taps for Private Tussie," a book which also deals with primitive people. Mr. Perry's fun is so much nicer and more decent. DIANA TRILLING

The Function of Philosophy

THE USES OF REASON. By Arthur E. Murphy. The Macmillan Company. $3.

A BOOK of this sort is inevitably twice damned. Not only will the scholar condemn it for its cavalier handling of delicate issues, but the common reader—the "everyday, intelligent person"—to whom it is explicitly addressed and whom it might conceivably enlighten, will find much of it intolerably abstract. Every act of mediation tends, if successful, to betray both sides; Professor Murphy has intentionally diluted his wisdom, which is obviously great, but he none the less fails to produce a truly potable beverage.

His book, however, is in many ways extremely fine. The role of mediator is apparently habitual with him, as with most philosophers, and it takes various shapes. For example, defending reason against its current critics and opponents, he is perceptive enough not to remain uninfluenced by the people he aims to confute. His book, in consequence, treats contemporary questions without that false detachment, so common nowadays, which really amounts to evasion. Indeed, the unifying theme of the book is its criticism of the diverse forms which this evasion, this "irresponsibility," has taken.

Dogmatism of course is one form, and Dr. Murphy's initial concern is to equate reason with factual inquiry, to dissociate it, that is, from utility on the one hand and metaphysics on the other. But turning to the moral role of reason he finds that science, or rather a common misconception of science, has been even more baneful than theology: theology has at least affirmed the reality of ideals, while science, by ignoring them, has seemed altogether to negate them.

A firm proponent of science, Professor Murphy is convinced that science is not negative morally but neutral: it seems to negate our ideals only when we cease to view it within its own limited context. Professor Murphy traces some of the moral failures and perversions of our time to this false notion of science—cynicism and indifference on the one hand, and unscrupulousness and brutality on the other. What is therefore needed, however, is not less reason but more, for the moral value of reason is that it enables men "to discover what is true and use their knowledge to clarify and strengthen their common interests through co-

operative activity that can complete itself in a common good. . . . The refusal to make this distinction between right and wrong is a failure to face issues rationally, with due regard for factors essential to their just evaluation." "Absolutism" and "relativism" are therefore both wrong, or at best "half-truths." For though ideals are not "metaphysically sanctioned," or indeed in any scientific sense "objective," they are none the less "publicly justifiable within a community whose common concerns they bring to reasonable expression and adjudication. . . ."

A very able controversialist, Professor Murphy is of course aware that discussions of this sort almost invariably beg the question; and in the final section of the book he defends his conclusions by explaining the general purpose of philosophic thought. His view is that of Whitehead, whom he quotes: "Philosophy is an attempt to clarify those fundamental beliefs which finally determine the emphasis of attention that lies at the base of character." In his own words, "It concerns our basic or ultimate commitments." And if we question the value or authority of such a discipline, he has an excellent reply: "We shall have philosophical commitments in any case; . . . the discipline of philosophy is the means of making them intelligently, adequately. . . ."

It is impossible not to agree largely with this position. Reason clarifies both our preferences and their grounds, and makes possible their fulfilment. To say this in almost any other age than our own, Professor Murphy implies, would be gratuitous. Yet, as he suggests, reason is authoritative only for those who sense the need and value of justifying their beliefs. For the moral value of reason is not that it generates preferences—though of course it influences them—but that it enables us to judge purposes in the light of their implications and consequences. Professor Murphy, naturally, is aware of this, and it is not clear from the text whether he is actually proposing anything more for philosophy than the job of explicating our pivotal beliefs. Certainly, however, he very often tends to forget what he elsewhere seems to imply—that moral judgment, however enlightened and refined, is valid and authoritative only in so far as it is the voluntary yet spontaneous act of a conscious individual.

He tends to forget, that is, that all the knowledge in the world—or, indeed, all the good-will—does not of itself entitle us to impose our preferences on others, though of course we may try to communicate our moral perceptions. Professor Murphy's emphasis on the social aspect of ideals, on the unity they often presume or produce, is no doubt very salutary at the present moment, and the Kantian injunction to "treat men always as ends, never as means" is perennially just; yet the alternative to unity is not necessarily chaos. On the contrary, we should not, as Professor Murphy sometimes seems to do, attach our faith to a single ideal or set of ideals, or even to a single species of ideals, but rather to reason itself. For the uses of reason, like its fruits, are very diverse, as Professor Murphy shows, and each of them is in some sense ideal. If democracy is the most rational of all societies, it is because reason is a power both to generate and to comprehend diversity.

Hortatory books, at least when they are as cogent as this one, are of course very often valuable. But their value varies with the degree in which we share their assumptions. For every rational form of persuasion must at some point beg the issue, assume what it aims to prove: its success must depend not merely upon whether it elicits assent but upon whether it illuminates our own beliefs and desires. Professor Murphy's book will help those who agree with him to learn what they actually believe.

MARTIN LEBOWITZ

MOTION PICTURES

"A rare, rich and rewarding picture."—Archer Winsten, N. Y. Post.
Paramount's Technicolor Triumph
"LADY IN THE DARK"
Starring
GINGER ROGERS, RAY MILLAND, WARNER BAXTER, JON HALL with MISCHA AUER
In Person—THE RHUMBA KING
XAVIER CUGAT and His Orchestra
WALTER "DARE" WAHL — DEAN MURPHY
PARAMOUNT • TIMES SQUARE

DOROTHY THOMPSON: "If anyone is still asking what we are fighting about, this film is the answer."
NO GREATER LOVE
"By long odds, the most starkly moving drama of the war." . . . McManus, PM.
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Continuous from 10 a.m. Midnight show every night.

20th Century-Fox presents ALFRED HITCHCOCK'S
LIFEBOAT
by JOHN STEINBECK
Starring Tallulah Bankhead with WILLIAM BENDIX
Continuous Performances ASTOR B'WAY at 45th ST.

STAGE PLAYS

MICHAEL TODD presents
BOBBY CLARK in
MEXICAN HAYRIDE
by HERBERT & DOROTHY FIELDS • Staged by HASSARD SHORT
SONGS BY COLE PORTER
WINTER GARDEN, B'way & 50th St. Mats. Wed. & Sat.

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RUTH GORDON
IN THE NEW COMEDY HIT
OVER TWENTY-ONE
MUSIC BOX, 45th St. W. of B'way. CI 6-4636—Evs. 8:40. Mats. Thurs. & Sat. 2:40

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RED CROSS plasma is saving the lives of hundreds of wounded soldiers and sailors. But thousands of additional blood donors are needed. Give a pint of blood to save a life.

FILMS

THE issues and fragments of the army's "Screen Magazine" which were recently given a civilian airing at the Museum of Modern Art are at once heartening, disappointing, and disturbing. It is disturbing to any anti-authoritarian to have to realize that we work more honestly and more effectively as semi-totalitarians than as semi-democrats; these films are miles ahead of any rough American equivalent—mainly newsreels—made for civilians. Even so, high-mediocre is the general ceiling. The commentators' voices are not, thank God, trying to strangle the buyer and embalm his corpse in the same inflection; but they do tend to be smoothly, unpleasantly folksy. There is an obligatory hell-and-damn or so to each issue, a rather frequent use of naked soldiers bathing, a good bit of backside comedy. Barring a slightly uneasy sort of chumminess, however, the tone and pace are generally relaxed and sensible, wonderfully pleasing to experience after waltzing across the little bits of broken mirror which make the average newsreel, or suffering the riveting-hammer, maniacal yammer of a March of Time. There is frequent intelligent use of an excellent device which ought to be recognized as basic to decent film grammar: the shot introduced and given its own pure power, for a few seconds—it ought often to be minutes—without sound, music, explanation, or comment. Private Snafu, a cartooned cluck full of instinctive bad habits, would be fun to see, I imagine, on any front; but I wonder why there is no animated version of *Yank's* Private Sadsack. The Magazine seems a little short on fun, and lamentably short on pretty women. As teaching and as morale tonic I presume it would be very valuable even if it were much less good than it is; but on both counts it seems tame and unimaginative compared with what it might be. I have to speak, with the sense of a very limited right to, of my objection to hearing the Japanese referred to as "cockroaches," "rats," and so forth. With combat experience, I must realize, this might strike me differently; I only hope not. I also hope that I would under no circumstances accept the Magazine's muted sneer at a Japanese shrine. There are some tenderly crude and on the whole nice pieces of sentimentality about soldiers' parents who cannot write their sons in English, army dogs, and sailors' children at Christmas time. There are some fine, terrible shots of Tarawa. A few minutes of Kiska under quiet steady rain make about as beautiful an image of desolation as I have ever seen.

JAMES AGEE

ART

PIET MONDRIAN, the great Dutch painter, died in New York on February 1 at the age of seventy-one. He came to this country two years ago from London, where he had been living since 1939, after twenty years spent in France.

Mondrian was the only artist to carry to their ultimate and inevitable conclusions those basic tendencies of recent Western painting which cubism defined and isolated. His art has influenced design and architecture more immediately than painting but remains easel-painting nevertheless, with all the concentrated force and drama the form requires. At the same time it designates the farthest limit of easel-painting. Those whose point of departure is where Mondrian left off will no longer be easel-painters. Excluding everything but flat, unmodulated areas of primary color and rectilinear and rectangular forms, his art returns painting to the mural—the mural as a living, modern form, not the archaeological reconstruction of Puvis de Chavannes, Rivera, and the WPA projects. I am not sure whether Mondrian himself recognized it, but the final intention of his work is to expand painting into the décor of the man-made world—what of it we see, move in, and handle. This means imposing a style on industry, and thus adumbrates the most ambitious program a single art has ever ventured upon.

Mondrian's own explicit intentions were somewhat different. There is no need to take his metaphysics on its own terms, but it certainly helps us to understand the creation of his masterpieces. He said that his art was concerned with man's deliverance from "time and subjective vision which veil the true reality"—I quote from his essay "Toward the True Vision of Reality."

> Plastic art affirms that equilibrium can only be established through the balance of unequal but equivalent oppositions. The clarification of equilibrium through plastic art is of great importance for humanity. It reveals that although human life in time is doomed to disequilibrium, notwithstanding this, it is based on equilibrium. . . . If we cannot free ourselves, we can free our *vision*.

Mondrian's pictures attempt to balance unequal forces: for example, one area, smaller than another, is made equivalent by shape and spatial relations. Further:

> At the moment, there is no need for art to create a reality of imagination based on appearances, events, or traditions. Art should not follow the intuitions relating to our life in time, but only those intuitions relating to true reality.

In other words, the vision of space granted by plastic art is a refuge from the tragic vicissitudes of time. Abstract painting and sculpture are set over against music, the abstract art of time in which we take refuge from the resistance of space.

Mondrian's painting, however, takes its place beside the greatest art through virtues not involved in his metaphysics. His pictures, with their white grounds, straight black lines, and opposed rectangles of pure color, are no longer windows in the wall but islands radiating clarity, harmony, and grandeur—passion mastered and cooled, a difficult struggle resolved, unity imposed on diversity. Space outside them is transformed by their presence. Perhaps Mondrian will be reproached for the anonymity with which he strove for the ruled precision of the geometer and the machine in executing his paintings: their conceptions can be communicated by a set of specifications and dimensions, sight unseen, and realized by a draftsman. But so could the conception of the Parthenon. The artist's signature is not everything.

Mondrian was of the type of artist-hero who immolates himself for his work, sacrificing the customary amenities of life, or making his art carry desires frustrated in other directions. He never married—he expressed a desire to but complained that he could not afford it—and he seems to have had few friends. He gave the impression of being inarticulate in conversation, and said once that he preferred not to argue about the problems of art *viva voce* but to read and write about them. His appearance was as dry and ascetic as a superficial acquaintance with his work might lead one to expect. But there were in both the artist and the art an intensity and passion which it needed only a second glance to discover. His one great diversion, surprisingly or not, was dancing, and I am told that he liked it so much that he often danced by himself in his studio.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

Coming Soon in *The Nation*

"A Carriage from Sweden"—a Poem
By Marianne Moore

Leigh White's "The Long Balkan Night"
Reviewed by M. W. Fodor

MUSIC

GEORGE BALANCHINE has given us in his ballets the concrete and rich manifestations of one of the great creative minds of our time; but what he has given the ballet companies have taken away. His choreography for Diaghilev's 1929 "The Prodigal Son" and "The Ball" was later replaced by De Basil who acquired the sets, costumes, and music; the rights to "Concurrence" and "Cotillon" are held by De Basil, now in South America; "The Fairy's Kiss" and "Serenade" are no longer given by the Monte Carlo company; the Ballet Theater, which produced "Apollo" last year, has dropped it this season. And of his most recent ballets, created for the South American tour of Lincoln Kirstein's American Ballet, the one to Mozart's A major Piano Concerto has not been given here at all, "Ballet Imperial" to Tchaikovsky's G major Piano Concerto has had only the few insufficiently rehearsed performances by dancers of the American Ballet during the New Opera Company's second season, and "Concerto Baroco" to Bach's D minor Concerto for two violins has had only the recent performances by some of these dancers under the name of American Concert Ballet—one of which, at the Y. M. H. A., I am glad to have been able to see. It was not a great performance, but sufficiently good to enable one to perceive the quality of the work, and in particular the extraordinary quality of the middle movement. The music here is a never-pausing flow of lovely melody, constantly building up and releasing phraseological and emotional tensions, and astounding in its inexhaustible invention; and similar astounding fertility of imagination is evident in the parallel-flow of movement, with its own built-up and released tensions, that is one of the most excitingly beautiful things I have ever seen done on a stage.

Later in the Y. M. H. A. series there was a performance by Argentinita and her associates; and I was amazed by the increased effectiveness and delightfulness of their dancing in the small auditorium. But there was another reason for the greater pleasure from the performance; and this was the fact that nobody was seated while dancing was in progress. Those who have had "Les Sylphides" or any other opening ballet at the Metropolitan—or, for that matter, the first act of an opera—wrecked by the series of disturbances created by latecomers, and who then have had the first five or ten minutes of the next ballet or act disturbed by the same people returning from the lobbies or the buffet, will appreciate the Y. M. H. A.'s good sense in ruling that latecomers shall not disturb the performing artist and the people in the audience who have arrived on time. In European opera houses and concert halls the doors to the auditorium are closed when a performance is about to begin—with the result that almost nobody is late; in New York concert halls too nobody is seated during a performance (only newspaper critics, for no good reason, are allowed to barge in and out); and the Metropolitan Opera Association should have the same arrangement. And Mr. Hurok should have it even if the Metropolitan doesn't, when he takes over the opera house for performances of ballet. What the Y. M. H. A. does, the man who—in the words of the Ballet Theater program last fall—has "emerged the sultan of ballet" certainly can do.

In addition he should live up to the responsibilities of his new position. Writing about Diaghilev, Beecham pays tribute to the "combination of abilities [that] had enabled him to form a troupe of dancers second to none anywhere and to enroll under his banner a group of the most gifted composers and scenic artists of the day," and that led him also to employ "a large and first-rate orchestra [which], replacing the old moderate-sized and none too skillful body of players, raised and brought the instrumental side of the performance well into line with the rest of it." It is for Mr. Hurok to do the same things today.

Among the questionable pretensions and anecdotes which the New Friends of Music in some way has managed to get published not only in publicity stories that are ignored but in articles and even in multiple-researched-written-and-checked *Time* stories, the most important has been that the organization has presented music, not performers—that anyone calling up to ask who was playing next Sunday would be answered "Beethoven is being played," and so on; when actually from the start the organization has announced imposing lists of performers, without which its announcement of concerts of the music of Beethoven would not have brought a single person to the hall. Recently the line has been changed: the claim now is that the New Friends first has chosen music and then has engaged the best performing artist or group for each work; when actually it has engaged performers for their box-office appeal without regard for their unfitness—Serkin, for example, to play Bach's "Goldberg" Variations last year. And this year its policy has backfired very badly. Instead of having Beethoven's quartets all played by the Budapest Quartet the New Friends decided to add another box-office name—that of the Busch Quartet—to its announcement; and having engaged Szigeti for Beethoven's sonatas for violin and piano it did not engage a first-rate ensemble pianist with temperament and style that would be well-matched to Szigeti's—Franz Rupp, for example, or Artur Balsam—but got a big-name solo pianist, Claudio Arrau. The series sold out; but the deficiencies of tone and ensemble in the Busch Quartet's playing this year were such that even normally uncritical people expressed indignation to me over having had such performances inflicted on them; and there was dissatisfaction also with performances of the sonatas that combined the warmth and vitality of Szigeti's playing, after his initial nervousness had worn off, with the chill and stolidity of Arrau's playing from first to last.

The New Friends did not consider it necessary to interrupt the Budapest Quartet's playing in Town Hall to announce the bombing of Truk; but WQXR considered it necessary to interrupt the broadcast of the performance for that purpose.

B. H. HAGGIN

CONTRIBUTORS

LEWIS GANNETT, book reviewer for the *Herald Tribune*, was on the editorial staff of *The Nation* some twenty years ago, and formed a friendship with William Allen White, at that time a frequent contributor.

EDWARD HUNTER is now on the "war desk" of the New York *Post*. He has edited newspapers and worked as a correspondent in China and Japan.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES is author of "Europa and Other Poems" and "Out of the Jewel," and editor of the Spanish Loyalist anthology "And Spain Sings." He has translated García Lorca's poems.

LEOPOLD SCHWARZSCHILD was a prominent Berlin editor before Hitler came to power.

BENJAMIN HARROW is professor of biochemistry at the College of the City of New York.

Letters to the Editors

At Least Peculiar

Dear Sirs: Your editorial of February 5 noting that the Dies committee has been given another $75,000 to investigate the C. I. O. and "Peace Now" makes reasonable assumptions as to how the taxpayers' money will be used. But may I point out the peculiar appropriateness of a Dies investigation of "Peace Now"? Dr. George W. Hartmann, chairman of that organization, was—like George W. Deatherage and Elizabeth Dilling—a star Dies witness against the "reds."

Volume XI of the Dies hearings devotes seventeen pages to the Hartmann testimony, taken November 27, 1939. Dr. Hartman spoke with some alarm of the red menace in our schools but assured the committee that the Nazi viewpoint was "practically unrepresented" in American colleges.

WILLSON WHITMAN

Woodside, L. I., February 15

Wages and the Little Steel Formula

Dear Sirs: In your editorial of January 8 entitled Wages and Living Costs the statement is made that since "the beginning of 1941 wage rates have been permitted to rise a maximum of 15 per cent, while the cost of living has gone up 23½ per cent." From this you conclude that "simple justice" would indicate a need for revision of the Little Steel formula.

It is not correct that wage rates have only been permitted to rise 15 per cent since January, 1941. For voluntary increases by employers, no formal limits whatever were imposed on the amount of gains which could be secured up to October 2, 1942. Nor is it at all clear that a revision of the Little Steel formula would meet the requirements of simple justice for all wage and salary workers. In fact, the requirements of justice are not even simple in this particular instance.

The only available measure which even crudely approximates an index of pure wage rates involves correction of gross average hourly earnings of factory workers to remove the effects of overtime and of the increased relative importance of the high-wage war industries from the over-all averages. On the basis of the proportion of employee-hours prevailing in January, 1941, this series shows an increase of 30.1 per cent for manufacturing as a whole between January, 1941, and October, 1943. It is true that this measure reflects other influences upon individual earnings besides changes in job rates, but it can certainly be concluded that the over-all increase exceeds 15 per cent.

When broken down for the twenty major industrial divisions of manufacturing, the increases in straight-time hourly earnings for the period are even more impressive: transportation equipment, 46.6 per cent; lumber and timber products, 43.6 per cent; furniture, 37.2 per cent; leather and leather products, 36.6 per cent; non-ferrous metals, 36.1 per cent; machinery, except electrical, 35.2 per cent; textile-mill products, 35.1 per cent; miscellaneous products, 33.6 per cent; and iron and steel products, 32.2 per cent.

The purpose of providing for adjustments in wage rates for the 15 per cent increase in the cost of living from January, 1941, to April, 1942, fundamentally was to preserve as far as possible the exchange value of a unit of labor effort, in particular for the protection of those workers who had lagged behind in the general increases of the period. Congress and the President thus made provision in the wage-stabilization program for general increases to correct maladjustments between wage rates and the cost of living as an adjunct of the stabilization of all wage rates at the level of September 15, 1942. Increases already gained in this period are offset in determining the residual allowances, and since most workers had received increases well over 15 per cent, they can get no further increase under the maladjustment provision. However, they still have the possibility for adjustment in wage rates under the gross inequities, substandards, and "rare and unusual" provisions of the stabilization program, which is further evidence that the alleged 15 per cent limitation is not true in fact. Moreover, in terms of weekly take-home pay, which is a better measure of ability to keep up with the cost of living, the gain for all manufacturing through September, 1943, actually comes to 66.7 per cent, while the percentage increases for particular industries are even greater.

However, since the distribution of war-time increases in income is by no means an even one, the over-all averages do not tell the whole story. There are many workers who have not shared in these gains because of lack of bargaining power and because their industries have not shared in war-time prosperity. Others who have been disadvantaged include many clerical and office workers; many federal, state, county, and municipal employees; aged persons on fixed incomes; and service men's dependents. Paradoxically, however, these groups would least be able to take advantage of any increase in the Little Steel formula for the same reasons that have been responsible for their lagging to date. Thus it is not at all certain that the requirements of simple justice would be met by revision of the Little Steel formula.

GEORGE H. HILDEBRAND, JR.

Washington, D. C., January 13

Pamphlets for Sale

Dear Sirs: In *The Nation* of February 5 there is a paragraph in In the Wind about the sale of pamphlets in the Chicago Public Library in which it is said that discontinuance of such sales was "proposed by the chairman of the board, Joseph B. Fleming, attorney for the *Tribune*." The truth is that the library was notified by a local lawyer that litigation was under consideration to stop sales of pamphlets by the library as an extra-legal activity. The proposal to stop sales pending an examination of the legal aspects of the matter was made by me, not by President Fleming, although I naturally consulted him and he agreed. I submitted this proposal in a written recommendation which was approved in committee and unanimously adopted by the board, all members present voting for it. Mr. Leo A. Lerner was not present at that meeting and did not vote, although he expressed his contrary views at a subsequent meeting.

It seemed, and still seems, to me no more than common prudence, when threatened with a lawsuit, to suspend the questioned procedure until a competent opinion could be obtained—especially since the procedure in this case is a small and unimportant side-line to the library's free services, clearly outside its enumerated statutory functions, and certainly not worth getting into trouble

about. The matter was referred to the city law department, which rendered a sweeping opinion sustaining the right of the Public Library to engage in sales. This ruling will be hailed with interest and satisfaction by public libraries in general, since it clears up a foggy issue. It will appear in full in the *Library Journal* of February 15. Meanwhile, steps have been taken to resume pamphlet sales without delay.

C. B. RODEN, Librarian
Chicago, Ill., February 9

[The item was based on a clipping from the Chicago *Daily News* of January 19. Mr. Roden's version is undoubtedly correct; the clipping, however, implied clearly that discontinuance was Mr. Fleming's idea. ("Fleming attacked the pamphlets as 'propaganda,' saying some were issued by British government agencies. . . .") Mr. Roden's name was not mentioned.

In any case, we are happy to learn that anti-Nazi "propaganda" is once more available at the Chicago Public Library. —EDITORS THE NATION.]

Serbs, Croats, and Mr. Raditsa

Dear Sirs: The article on Yugoslavia in your issue of January 29 is as fine a piece of propaganda as I have ever seen anywhere, putting it politely. Bluntly speaking, it is a pack of half-truths which by careful omissions and innuendoes gives a story very different from the truth. The article is obviously designed to whitewash the Croats by identifying them with the Partisans and at the same time to blacken the Serbs and Mihailovich, and will cause more discord among Yugoslavs.

We are told that the "Serb trio" was responsible for the signing of the Axis pact in 1941. The account fails to mention that Croat leader V. Machek, whom the article subsequently praises, was at that time Vice-Premier of the country and that he publicly approved the collaboration in strong terms. There is considerable disagreement on the attitude toward the Axis of this leader of the Croats. Pro-Partisan *Slobodna Rec* (October, 1943) puts him in the same class as "traitor Mihailovich." Machek's "prison" by all accounts is his estate at Kupinec.

As to the breaking of the Axis pact in March, 1941, it was clearly established by a number of American correspondents on the spot that it was the Serb part of Yugoslavia that did it. In fact, all subsequent admirable acts of "Yugoslavs" were mainly of Serb origin.

The collapse of the Yugoslav army the article places on the doorstep of the Serbs because its generals were Serbs, specifically mentioning the collapse of the Kachanik front. There is no reference to the fact that the Croat troops were the main force there and that the Germans made their main attack on that spot. The fact that the Serb generals ordered cessation of fighting after April 9 is rubbed in, but the established fact that both Slovenia and Croatia accepted the Nazis with acclaim and declared their "independence" before that date is omitted.

The article makes much of "Serb chauvinism," but it does not explain the cause of it. For twenty years the Croats clamored for separation, and in 1941 they clearly showed their lack of love for Yugoslavia. When the Serbs, after the Croat atrocities and constant opposition, demanded the same thing, they became "pan-Serbs" and destroyers of the state. According to the article, the Croat massacres of Serbs "ran into the thousands." Louis Adamic says in his book that the figure ran to tens of thousands. A *Fortune* article of last June talked of 300,000. Pro-Partisan *Slobodna Rec* in October, 1943, said 450,000. *Srbobran* says 800,000. The London *Economist* (June 19, 1943) speaks of "wholesale massacres." A recent OWI release says that the Ustacha officer M. Bachich was executed by the Partisans for killing 1,500 Serbs around Bugojno. You choose whichever figure you like best.

Much is made of the use to which the "Dönkelmann report" was put by the Serbs. Not much reference is made to the contents of the document itself, its detailed and circumstantial account, with names, localities, and dates, of Croat behavior toward their brother-Yugoslav Serbs. The article makes the distinction between Croats and Ustachi who committed the deed. Did the Croats make the distinction between the Serbs and the policeman who killed those five Croats in 1937? Did the Irish make any distinction between the English and their government which ordered the repression? Anyhow the report makes lurid reading, and no paper would publish it. No wonder it was sent to the only interested party. Does Mr. Raditsa deny the facts in the report in addition to attacking its publication?

A painful attempt is made in the article to make Pavelich's Croatia and Nedich's Serbia the same kind of Axis puppet state. The fact is that at this moment all Serb soldiers taken prisoner are in German military prison camps, some 200,000 of them, with no record of a single one fighting against the United Nations armies. Croats were not taken prisoner by the Reich, and according to the OWI's recent release, they have lost 100,000 men on "Russian and other fronts." That indicates how the two peoples feel toward the Allied cause with, of course, a few exceptions.

I could go on indefinitely. The measure of the whole article can be taken by the vicious recourse to the bogy of anti-Semitism. When *Srbobran* spoke of "Jugocenter" as "Judocenter," it did not mean "Jewish Center" but "Judascenter" or "center of traitors." *Srbobran* made this meaning plain repeatedly—in the issue of June 22, 1943, for instance. The paper and the Serbs can be accused of many other things but to imply slyly that they are anti-Semitic is a plain misrepresentation. It is of interest that Adamic, who is of the same mind as Raditsa about the Serbs, derisively calls Ambassador Fotich a "part-Jew" and the former Minister Ninchich a "christianized Hebrew."

It is hard to understand why Raditsa, a professed Yugoslav, does everything to irritate and antagonize the Serbs, who, after all, created the country in 1918 and who constitute half of its population. It is apparent that the country could not exist without their consent; so there seems no sense in attacking them. The only explanation is that the article was not written in behalf of Yugoslavs and their cause but to defend and propagandize the Croat cause.

MILAN D. POPOVIC
Morristown, N. J., February 10

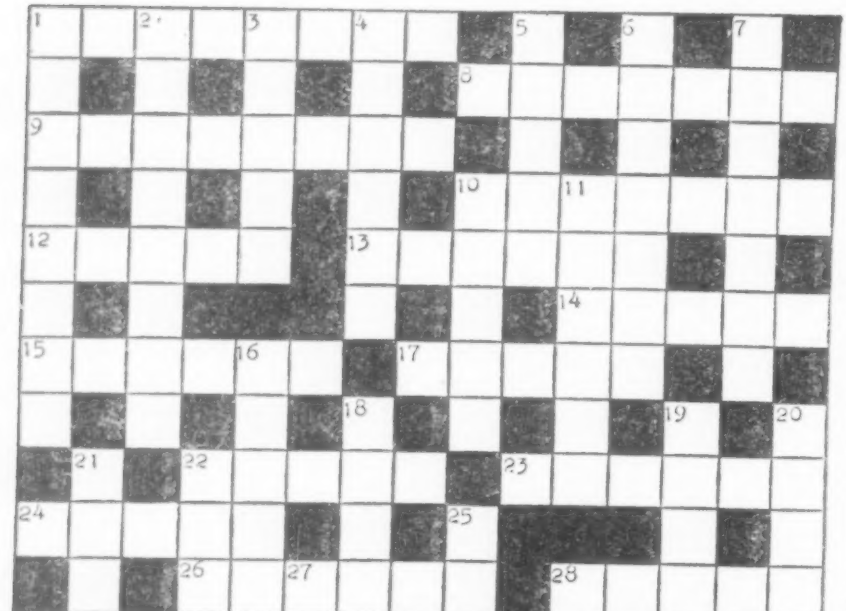
Mr. Raditsa Replies

Dear Sirs: Having already stated my position at length in *The Nation*, I shall not restate it here. I should merely like to say that it was never my intention to "irritate" and "antagonize" the Serbs, who with the Slovenes and Croats constitute Yugoslavia. I am fully conscious of the great meaning the heroic stand and sufferings of the Serbian people have for Yugoslavia. I know that there is no possibility of rebuilding Yugoslavia without the Serbs' consent, but at the same time we must accept the principle that Yugoslavia can exist only if it is freely accepted, equally and independently, by the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes.

That is what the "Partisans" have done after three years of war. They have cemented the Yugoslav idea with blood,

Cross-Word Puzzle No. 54

By JACK BARRETT



ACROSS

1 Cashel Byron's profession
8 It's against the law, but I'll help you to start it
9 Small sharp weapon of the furious mob?
10 The best answer to a wise man
12 Guide with four legs
13 This makes veneer smoother
14 We hear her love song in The Fortune Teller (Herbert)
15 Two kings of the Visigoths have borne this appellation
17 He is disappointed if he doesn't get what's coming to him
22 Berlin's current holiday
23 Though not a military man you can get him to ride and make him responsible for a column
24 In which a trio reveals a sense of proportion
26 A Marx Brother just failed to get in—hence the peeve
28 Surviving trace
29 "A lovely apparition, sent
To be a moment's ornament"
30 Lost tile (anag.) (two words, 2 and 6)
31 Sweaters or brows may be
32 Bold but insufficient reply to the question, "Who goes there?" (two words, 4 and 4)

DOWN

1 Mariners and others have looked to it for guidance
2 The stuff British V.C.s are made of
3 This Viennese composer might appear as a Shakespearean king if he dropped an aitch
4 Musical instrument formerly made mostly of pine
5 Such clothes surely don't constitute climbing kit
6 A daydream
7 "He made him a hut, wherein he did put
The ------- of Robinson Crusoe"
10 Necessitated a couple of chairmen being on their feet at once
11 This folk tale looks as if it might be my foot!
16 Meaning? Why, meaning: and half of it's a devil
18 A strange exclamation to get from a Moslem princess!
19 Marat got the point of one while in his bath, but it didn't strike him as being funny
20 (Wagers about torture)
21 The wag swallowed a bone, and got taken to the cleaners
22 Privy seals
25 Fancy finding a hornet in it!
27 Trickled
28 European river of a thousand legends

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 53

ACROSS:—1 SOUND ASLEEP; 9 PILE; 10 GLOBE; 11 HACK; 12 FLASHED; 13 STARERS; 15 UNLOOSED; 16 SOWERS; 18 SWATHE; 21 CREDENCE; 24 ALI BABA; 26 USHERED; 28 HERO; 29 ORATE; 30 OPAL; 31 SMALL-MINDED.

DOWN:—2 OVERSHOOT; 3 NUGGETS; 4 AMOK; 5 LAERTES; 6 ETHER; 7 VILLON; 8 SCORER; 14 EDICT; 17 WHEREFORE; 19 WELLER; 20 EMBROIL; 22 EPSTEIN; 23 COEVAL; 25 BLOOM; 27 CALM.

while the government in exile plus Mihailovich has been destroying it. To label the Partisans "Croats" is nonsense when more than half of them are Serbs.

That there is no difference between Pavelich sending Croats into Russia and against the Partisans and Nedich sending Serbs against the Partisans is shown by the fact that according to an OWI release of February 2 the puppet Premier Nedich, upon German demand, has raised twenty new regiments and supplied them with "the necessary artillery equipment and technical troops."

BOGDAN RADITSA

New York, February 12

Why Not Organize?

Dear Sirs: Mr. Bernays's advertisement in your issue of February 12 suggested a thought which I have sometimes expressed to business men of my acquaintance: business men are judged, as a group, by the public utterances of the organizations which represent them before the public. The National Association of Manufacturers and the chambers of commerce have not usually expressed liberal views. There are certainly many business men who, even if members of these organizations, do not agree with many of the policies which they promote.

I wish it were possible for such business men to express themselves, so that they would be known to the public and particularly to those "liberals" and "intellectuals" to whom Mr. Bernays addresses himself. Maybe there ought to be a national committee of liberal business leaders, to promote and fortify the much-needed contributions which such men can make to social planning and public action.

Why doesn't Mr. Bernays act as a magnet to draw some liberals of both groups together, to talk things over?

MICHAEL M. DAVIS

New York, February 18

Stories of Will Rogers

Dear Sir: I am editing the anecdotes of Will Rogers and will be glad to hear from all who may have anecdotes or stories.

CYRIL CLEMENS

Webster Groves, Mo., February 18

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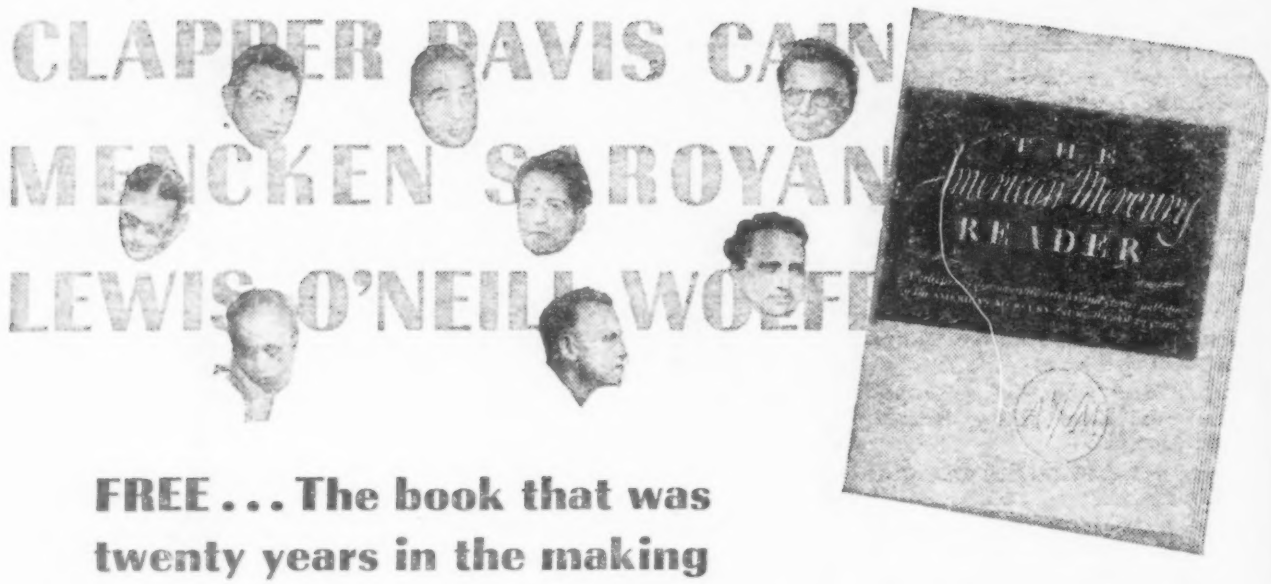

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